

OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION, 1940

CHARLES E. CAUTHEN - - - - - President
MRS. RICHARD WILLIAMS - - - - - Vice-President
FANNIE BELLE WHITE - - - - - Secretary and Treasurer

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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O. C. SKIPPER

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THE PROCEEDINGS
of
THE SOUTH CAROLINA
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

1940

ROBERT L. MERIWETHER

Editor

ARNÉY R. CHILDS

Associate Editor

COLUMBIA
THE SOUTH CAROLINA
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

1940

THE PROCEEDINGS OF

THE TENTH ANNUAL MEETING

The tenth annual meeting of the South Carolina Historical Association was held at the Oregon Hotel in Greenwood, April 13, 1940. The meeting was opened at eleven o'clock by the President, Mr. C. E. Cauthen.

The first paper of the morning session, "A Convention That Made History", was prepared by Mr. Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., and read by Mr. L. C. Galloway. The discussion was led by Mr. S. J. Derrick. The second paper, "Charleston Pastime and Culture during the Nullification Decade, 1822-1832", was given by Mr. G. T. Prior. A discussion, prepared by Miss Catherine deTreville, was read by Miss Ruth Boyd.

At the afternoon session Mr. C. M. Ferrell read a paper entitled, "Vagrancy and Vagabondage in Tudor England". Mr. D. H. Gilpatrick was the leader of the discussion.

The annual business meeting was held during the afternoon session. The report of the Secretary-Treasurer was made and adopted. Mr. O. C. Skipper gave the report of the Executive Committee, which instructed the Editor as follows: that the Association's policy of publishing an index to *The Proceedings* in every fifth issue be continued, that a notice of this policy be carried on the inside cover of the bulletin, and that the publication date of *The Proceedings* shall be October 1, unless the Editor should be otherwise instructed by the Executive Committee. Mr. Skipper also reported a recommendation from the Executive Committee that the Association be represented on one of the sessions of the Southern Historical Association at its annual meeting in Charleston, November 7-9, 1940.

The following officers for 1940 were elected at this time: President, Mrs. Richard Williams; Vice-President, Mr. D. H. Gilpatrick; Member of the Executive Committee, Mr. R. G. Stone. The choice of a secretary was postponed until the evening session when Miss Ruth Boyd was elected.

Article VII of the constitution was amended to provide for the publication of documents in *The Proceedings* and for the offices of Editor and Associate Editor.

Mr. J. M. Lesesne informed the Association of an invitation to hold the annual meeting in Beaufort. Following a request from Mr. Skipper that the members of the Association express themselves as to the place of meeting in 1941, a motion made by Mr. Holmes that the meeting be held in Beaufort was adopted.

At the dinner session, held at seven o'clock, Mr. Harry L. Watson read a paper entitled, "The Newspapers of Abbeville District, 1812-1834". After a vote of thanks to Mrs. Richard Williams and Miss Mary Baker for the excellent local arrangements, the meeting was adjourned.

F. B. W.

A CONVENTION THAT MADE HISTORY

MILLEDGE L. BONHAM, JR.

Hamilton College

About 1840 the Democrats of the state of New York had divided over the disposal of the surplus revenues from the Erie Canal. This rift was widened by the controversy over slavery and abolition in the next two decades.¹ The radical wing called the conservatives "Hunkers" because they were supposed to be *hungering* for office and *hankering* for Texas. The Hunkers retorted by dubbing the radicals "Barnburners", likening them to a farmer who had, reputedly, burned down his barn to rid it of rats. Soon the Hunkers began calling their opponents "Softshells", or trimmers, quickly abbreviated to "Softs". In return the Hunkers were known as "Hardshells" or "Hards", because their crania were supposed to be too dense to permit the infiltration of new ideas.²

As if this division of the Democratic ranks were not enough, on the eve of "the irrepressible conflict", the party in New York City was further divided; and these local divisions frequently cut across Hard and Soft lines. The regular Democratic organization, Tammany Hall, led by S. F. Purdy and H. W. Genet, as always, followed that course it deemed most advantageous to itself, hence was Hard, Soft, neutral or divided, as it considered expedient.³ Unable to control Tammany, Mayor Fernando Wood, the *enfant terrible* of the party, had formed his own organization called Mozart Hall. One might suppose that Mozart would be Hard when Tammany was Soft, and *vice-versa*, but it was never safe to count on this.⁴

The state chairman, Dean Richmond, of Buffalo, was the leader of the regular, majority or Soft faction, to which belonged also ex-Governor Horatio Seymour of Utica, and Samuel J. Tilden of New York. The minority, or Hards, were led by Daniel S. Dickinson ("Scripture Dick"), of Binghamton, a former United States Senator.⁵

¹ D. S. Alexander, *Political History of the State of New York*, 3 vols. (New York, 1906-1909), II, Ch. v, xi, xiv; Oliver Dyer, *Great Senators of the United States Forty Years Ago* (New York, 1889), p. 43.

² H. A. Donovan, *The Barnburners, 1830-1857* (New York, 1925), Ch. ii-iii; M. L. Bonham, Jr., "New York and the Election of 1860", *New York History*, April, 1934, and authorities there cited.

³ Gustavus Myers, *History of Tammany Hall* (New York, 1917), *passim*.

⁴ E. C. Smith, "Fernando Wood", in Alan Johnson & Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography* (cited below as *D.A.B.*), 20 vols. (New York, 1928-1936), XX, 456; Alexander, *op. cit.* II, 249.

⁵ O. W. Holmes, "Dean Richmond", in *D.A.B.*, XV, 382; D. S. Dickinson, *Speeches and Addresses* (New York, 1867); R. S. Mitchell, *Horatio Seymour of New York* (Cambridge, 1938); A. C. Flick & G. S. Lobrano, *Samuel Jones Tilden* (New York, 1939).

As early as the summer of 1859 the Hards and Softs, Tammany and Mozart, began jockeying for position in the race of 1860. This rivalry reached its height in the state convention at Syracuse, in September, 1859. Onondaga County, of which Syracuse is the seat and metropolis, from the time of Hiawatha, the legendary founder of the Iroquois Confederacy to the present has produced men, women and events of historic import. This convention was such an event. One of the most heated that ever occurred in any county of any state, this one had state-wide and nation-wide repercussions.

What the Republican *Syracuse Journal*⁶ called the "party of knotty and hedgehog politicians" had set Wednesday, September 14, as the date of the convention. Most of the delegates reached Syracuse on the 13th and at once plunged into slate-making, dickering and dealing. At the primaries Mozart and Tammany had each put up a complete ticket of seventeen to represent the city in the convention. Each side claimed the victory and each charged the other with fraud—in that respect, for once, both were probably right. Though Tammany had easily carried the city; Wood took a full delegation—with sundry reinforcements—to Syracuse.

The convention was scheduled to begin at noon, in Wieting Hall, Water and South Salina Streets. About 11:30 Wood, accompanied by his own delegation, a few other delegates and a considerable body-guard of rowdies, took possession of the hall, before the regulars appeared in force. C. D. Smith of Monroe county called the meeting to order and nominated for temporary chairman Thomas G. Alvord, ex-speaker of the New York Assembly, and one of the delegates from Syracuse. Despite some objection from a few regulars who had just entered, Alvord was declared elected and took the chair. After the election of secretaries, Hiram C. Murray, of Cattaraugus moved to seat the Mozart and Tammany delegations on equal terms. While he was speaking to this motion many of the other regular delegates had come in, including Tammany's seventeen. John Cochrane, "the brains" of that group, got the floor and amidst cheers from Tammany and jeers from Mozart, denounced Murray's motion and the method by which Alvord had been placed in the chair. He moved to lay Murray's motion on the table and called for the ayes and noes. Alvord ruled that the ayes and noes could not be taken at that stage of the proceedings. Of course Cochrane appealed from the decision of the chair. Alvord said no such appeal could be taken until the permanent organization was completed. Murray then sought to resume his argument in favor of his motion; but the state secretary, Peter Cagger, of New York, leaped upon the rostrum and nominated

⁶ For the details of the convention, see *Syracuse Journal*, *Central City Daily Courier* and *Syracuse Daily Standard*, September 12-16, 1859.

John Stryker of Rome for temporary chairman. Cagger put this to a vote and declared Stryker elected. He was escorted to the platform and took a seat beside Alvord. Then the fun became fast and furious! Both chairmen tried to recognize speakers, to rule on points of parliamentary practise, to put motions and preserve order—procure order, rather. Naturally, neither succeeded. In the midst of this turmoil some toughs crept upon the stage and struck Stryker from behind, throwing him entirely off the platform and cutting his scalp badly. Knives and pistols were drawn and for a few minutes bloodshed was imminent. After several fisticuffs had been started and repressed, some semblance of order was restored. Tammany later charged that Stryker was injured by plug-uglies whom Wood had brought for just such a purpose. Mozart retorted that Tammany had sent some of its thugs on the rostrum to get Alvord, but they had set upon the wrong man. Several persons were arrested and taken to the police station, where they were promptly bailed and were seen no more.

Stryker, whose head, like Henley's was "bloody but unbowed" under "the bludgeonings of chance", was restored to his seat and the Alvord-Stryker antiphony was resumed. Alvord put Murray's motion to seat Tammany and Mozart delegates on an equal basis, and declared it carried. Fernando Wood then moved to appoint a committee on credentials and Alvord declared that carried, whereupon Cochrane moved to adjourn until one o'clock and Stryker declared that motion carried. All but about fifty persons left the hall or withdrew to the rear. Wood and Murray now asserted that the remnant was the convention. They piously offered to forgive the errant seceders if they would return in a chastened spirit. The rump convention next proceeded to a permanent organization, choosing Alvord as president, with three vice-presidents and three secretaries to assist him. Wood was made chairman of the committee on resolutions and with suspicious promptitude reported a resolution, which was adopted, that each Congressional district should elect two delegates to the national convention of 1860, that these district delegates should assemble and choose delegates at large. Adjournment was then taken until 7 P. M. As this Mozart convention left the hall it was jeered at by the seceding majority.

Stryker resumed the chair and called the regular convention to order. As this assemblage contained the state chairman (Richmond), the state secretary (Cagger), such prominent Soft leaders as Francis Kernan of Utica and John Cochrane⁷ of New York, all but one of Onondaga's delegates (Alvord), and most of the up-state Hards, who

⁷ L. H. Holt, "Francis Kernan", in *D. A. B.*, X, 356; A. M. MacLear, "John Cochrane", *Ibid.*, IV, 252.

preferred Tammany to Mozart, obviously this was the regular official state convention. Dickinson and his followers so recognized it, as did the *Syracuse Journal*, which reported it as "the Democratic convention"; but the two Democratic papers, the *Central City Daily Courier* and the *Syracuse Daily Standard*, reported Wood's meeting as the Democratic convention and the larger gathering as the "Soft convention". Nevertheless, the *Standard* charged that the assault upon Stryker was committed by Wood's rowdies, upon Wood's order.

Cochrane denounced the outrage of the previous hour, but rejoiced that it had purged the party, so that hereafter there would be no distinction of Hard and Soft—all were Democrats—New York Democracy stood united again. On the roll call all but two of the delegates listed answered. Two of Syracuse's delegates were present: the third, Alvord, had gone with the Wood contingent, as had C. D. Smith, of Monroe county, who had nominated Alvord for temporary chairman. When the name of Isaiah Reynolds of New York was called he rose and said: "Through the forbearance of the gentleman that drew the pistol on me, and the forbearance of the brawny arm that would have annihilated me, I am here." At the call for Seneca county, Samuel Bradstreet declared: "The Senecas are here by this young and *Hard* representative." Dickinson was elected to honorary membership and invited to address the convention, which he did in a self-denying plea for party harmony—though it was well known that he hoped to be the nominee for President next year. After the appointment of a committee on permanent organization the convention adjourned until 4 p. m.

When it re-assembled Alvord and C. D. Smith were still the only absentees, from the official list. W. H. Ludlow of Suffolk was chosen president, with sixteen vice-presidents and eight secretaries. Taking the chair, Ludlow said that as a result of the morning's proceedings the party was now in a position to send a united delegation to Charleston. Kernan took the hint and moved to proceed to the election of delegates. A substitute motion to postpone the election of delegates until after the approaching state election was voted down and Kernan's motion was adopted. As a step towards carrying it into effect a committee was appointed to nominate delegates. After the appointment of a committee on resolutions the convention adjourned until nine o'clock the next morning.

On returning to Weting Hall at 7 P. M., the Wood convention found the doors securely fastened, so went across Clinton Square to a hotel, the Voorhees House, and there completed its session. Wood denounced the secession of the Softs and charged it to a clash between the New York Central Railroad and the Erie Canal interests, and a deal between the Republican boss, Thurlow Weed and Rich-

mond and Cagger.⁸ The "convention" adopted a platform approving Buchanan's administration, excoriating Senator W. H. Seward for his "irrepressible conflict" speech⁹ and denouncing Massachusetts for not permitting naturalized citizens to vote. Proceeding to the nomination of state officials, this group wickedly named a complete state ticket, consisting entirely of men it knew Richmond had slated for nomination by the regular convention. After authorizing the appointment of a state central committee to fill vacancies and to arrange for the election by Congressional districts of delegates to the national convention, the Wood convention adjourned *sine die*. The committee just named carried out its instructions, so that Wood led to Charleston next spring a full delegation. By having these delegates chosen by the electors of the districts Wood secured a specious appearance of being more truly representative than delegates appointed by a convention.

Meanwhile Richmond was striving to promote that harmony and unity of which Cochrane had spoken. By promising the support of the New York delegation to Dickinson, "whenever the national convention should show any tendency towards him", Richmond secured the cooperation of the Hards who hated Wood more than they did Richmond and the Softs. When the convention reassembled on Thursday morning, September 15, it perforce nominated the same ticket that the Wood convention had chosen the previous night, except the candidate for clerk of the court of appeals. In accepting the nominations, each candidate repudiated the nomination by the Mozart convention. The "regular" platform also approved Buchanan and rebuked Massachusetts, endorsed the squatter-sovereignty platform of the Cincinnati convention of 1856, repudiated the charge that the Democrats wished to reopen the foreign slave trade, condemned the Republicans generally and commended the Democrats generously. Adjournment was taken until 4 p. m., as the committee to nominate delegates was not ready to report. It was not ready at four nor at seven, but at nine finally reported a ticket of thirty Hards and forty Softs, counting as fifteen and twenty votes respectively, and a resolution imposing the unit rule upon the delegation—which of course would effectually bind and gag the Hard minority. After a rather warm debate both ticket and resolution were approved and the convention adjourned *sine die*.

When the national Democratic convention met at Charleston, April 23, 1860, it had to choose between contesting delegations from New York. Undismayed by the outcome at Syracuse Wood had brought

⁸ For Weed see H. A. Weed & T. W. Barnes, *The Life of Thurlow Weed*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1884).

⁹ At Rochester, N. Y., Oct. 25, 1858; see G. H. Baker, ed., *The Works of William H. Seward*, 5 vols. (Boston, 1853-1884), IV, 289, 292.

his delegation to Charleston. With an effrontery that not even Tammany could surpass, Wood demanded that his delegation be seated as the rightful representatives of New York. He sought to procure his end by assiduous courtship of the Southern delegates opposed to the aspirations of Stephen A. Douglas. His first demand having been rejected, Wood proposed that his group have an equal place with Richmond's. That astute parliamentarian, John Cochrane, promptly and effectually frustrated that effort.¹⁰ President Buchanan regarded the rejection of the Wood delegation as a "fatal blunder" and blamed Richmond and his colleagues for the subsequent election of Lincoln.¹¹ No doubt many anti-Douglas Democrats in New York were offended by the rejection of the Wood delegation, and showed that resentment in the fall elections. Further, Wood remained in Charleston and continued to flatter the anti-Douglas elements, with the natural result of forcing the Richmond delegation into the Douglas camp—at least nominally. Richmond's hope was that after a few ballots Douglas would withdraw and he might then swing the nomination to Seymour. (He had no desire or intention of boosting Dickinson, who never received more than sixteen votes.) This first factional fight was ominous to keen observers. Indeed, one editor had sensed, as the delegates came pouring into the city, the seriousness of the situation. "It is plain", he wrote, "that men feel as if they were going into battle."¹²

The first important choice for the New York delegation, after the convention got under way, was upon the several reports of the committee on resolutions. The majority presented a platform embodying the ultra-Southern views on slavery in the territories. The main minority report suggested abiding by the decisions of the Supreme Court. B. F. Butler of Massachusetts, who played a lone hand throughout the game, presented another minority report, which was simply the platform of 1856.¹³ Should the New York delegation—whose vote would be decisive—support the majority report and thereby eliminate Douglas, or should it vote for the minority report and risk driving the Southern delegates from the convention, thus damaging the chances of both Douglas and Seymour? After consultation, Richmond announced the New York vote for the minority report,

¹⁰ *New York Tribune*, April 24, 1860; Murat Halstead, *A History of the National Political Conventions of the Current Presidential Campaign* (Columbus, 1860), p. 14, *et seq.*

¹¹ [James Buchanan], *Mr. Buchanan's Administration on the Eve of the Rebellion* (New York, 1866), p. 78; Philip G. Auchampaugh, "The Buchanan-Douglas Feud", in *The Journal of the Illinois Historical Society*, April-July, 1932, pp. 34, 44.

¹² *Charleston Mercury*, April 21, 1860; J. B. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, 8 vols. (New York, 1887-1913), VIII, 441.

¹³ Edward Stanwood, *History of the Presidency* (New York, 1898), p. 283; Halstead, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

with the recommendation that the passages most obnoxious to the South be eliminated. The minority report was thus substituted for the majority, 165 to 138. If New York had voted against it, it would have been lost, 130 to 173.

After William L. Yancey led the dramatic secession of most of the Southern delegates, the remainder (253 out of 303) optimistically turned to the nomination of candidates. That raised the question of whether the two-thirds rule required that a candidate must have two-thirds of the original 303 or two-thirds of the rump—202 or 169? Alexander points out that this was Richmond's "opportunity to help or break Douglas." Richmond decided in favor of "two-thirds of the electoral college", which meant, of course, two-thirds of the full convention. Murat Halstead said this vote "sounded like clods falling on the Little Giant's coffin."¹⁴ Nevertheless, for fifty-seven ballots Richmond cast New York's thirty-five votes for Douglas. (Butler voted fifty-one times for Jefferson Davis.)

The failure of the Charleston convention to nominate, with the subsequent movements at Richmond and Baltimore is too well known to need recapitulation here.¹⁵ In passing it may be remarked that when he was rebuffed by the convention of seceders at Charleston, Wood at last abandoned the contest and took his delegation back home.

Undoubtedly the action of New York in the Charleston convention, largely predetermined by the riotous convention at Syracuse, suggests what my friend Professor Hearnshaw, of the University of London, would call "An 'IF' of History".¹⁶ If New York had supported the majority report, it is practically certain that Douglas would have withdrawn from the contest. Probably James Guthrie¹⁷ of Kentucky, secretary of treasury under Pierce, would have been nominated. Rhodes has pointed out that Lincoln needed the entire electoral vote of New York to win.¹⁸ The Bell-Breckinridge-Douglas rivalries in that state gave the Republican electors a plurality. Either Guthrie or Seymour, alone, could have carried the state against Lincoln, or even Seward. Whence it would seem that if Fernando Wood had not disrupted the Syracuse convention, the election of 1860 would have been quite different.¹⁹

¹⁴ Alexander, *op. cit.*, II, 277; E. D. Fite, *The Presidential Campaign of 1860* (New York, 1911), pp. 106-107; Halstead, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

¹⁵ See Stanwood, *op. cit.*, Ch. xxi; Halstead, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

¹⁶ F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *The "Ifs" of History*, London, 1930.

¹⁷ R. S. Cotterill, "James Guthrie" in *D. A. B.*, VIII, 60-62.

¹⁸ J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, 8 vols. (New York, 1899-1919), II, 497.

¹⁹ For the Republican phases of this theme, see *New York History*, April, 1934, especially, pp. 125-126, 135-142; and A. C. Flick, ed., *History of the State of New York*, 10 vols. (New York, 1933-1937), VII, 103-105.

VAGABONDAGE AND VAGRANCY IN TUDOR ENGLAND¹

C. M. FERRELL

University of South Carolina

Vagabondage and vagrancy constituted a serious problem for Tudor England. Local and central governments sought to cope with this menace, and private investigators also sought the causes and tried to find a cure for a problem which steadily became worse as time passed. Yet the vaunted energy of Tudor strong monarchy could not check the growth of these twin evils.

Vagabondage and vagrancy grew out of the economic and social revolution then in progress. The enclosure movement in agriculture, the basic industry, was producing a new type of greedy landlord who converted demesne and common waste into sheep runs and charged higher rents. Such practices forced the landless, jobless rural workers into want and idleness from which many sank into vagabondage and vagrancy. Periods of depression in trade and industry added their quota of unemployed while the rapid and wide fluctuations in prices resulting from enclosures, bad harvests, debasement of the coinage, and the influx of precious metals from the new world did likewise. Yet England as a whole was prospering as never before but with a poorly distributed prosperity. While the rich were becoming richer, the poor were becoming poorer and many became destitute. When jobs were to be had wages were often so low that many found it easier and more profitable to beg than to labor.

The government furnished recruits to the vagabond host by its practice after each campaign of discharging sailors and soldiers with little or no provision for their future. These ex-service men roamed the country singly, in groups, and in large bands begging, robbing and terrifying the people generally. At times they were such a menace to law and order that martial law had to be proclaimed and proclamations issued imposing the death penalty upon all who did not return home at once.² Into the ranks of vagrants came discharged retainers and poorly paid serving men whose wages did not "suffice so much as to find them breeches" and unemployed scholars who had become so wedded to the profession of begging while in the university that they never gave up the practice.

From these and other causes came the unnumbered multitude which swarmed in towns and villages and infested the roads begging,

¹ The printed form of this paper is a digest of that read at the meeting of the Historical Association.

² E. P. Cheyney, *A History of England from the Defeat of the Armada to the Death of Elizabeth*, 2 vols. (New York, 1914-1926), I, 84-85.

stealing at every opportunity, and ever ready to create fear and disorder. Various estimates were made of their numbers. William Harrison says that at the close of the reign of Henry VIII from 300 to 400 were hanged yearly.³ In the searches in 1569 some 13,000 were taken. There were said to be 1,000 beggars in London in 1517 and 12,000 in 1594, while in the Somerset assizes in 1596, 40 were executed, 35 burned in the thumb, 37 whipped, and 115 acquitted.⁴ An official stated that these persons were so numerous that they would if "reduced to good subjection . . . give the greatest enemy her Majesty hath a strong battle."⁵ Another declared, "No nation cherisheth such store of them as we do here in England"⁶ where they did great mischief sparing neither rich nor poor.

An examination of the personnel of these "infinite numbers" discloses a bewildering variety of undesirables of many kinds and degrees. The words vagabonds, vagrants, and rogues were used in the generic sense in the fifteenth century to include all classes of culprits. Yet Acts of Parliament and writers classified such people according to their specialties. A statute of 1572 listed ten categories including "persons calling themselves scholars" and begging without a university license; idle persons engaging in unlawful games; palmists and physiognomists; fencers, bearwards, jugglers, and players of interludes, "not belonging to any baron of the realm"; tinkers, pedlars, petty chapmen; loiterers; so-called shipwrecked sailors; persons claiming to be collectors for prisons and hospitals; gypsies; wanderers claiming losses by fire; and all who "being mighty of body" refused to work for legal wages.⁷ These unworthies fell into two large classes depending on the locale of their operations. The city rogues specialized in an endless variety of swindling practices and confidence tricks; the other class with many types had one common characteristic—that of roving about in search of something for nothing. It is this latter division which will receive our attention..

The best contemporary accounts of these vagrants is a small book by Thomas Harman, a Kentish magistrate, who obtained a mass of detailed data by observation and interviews over a score of years. He published his findings in 1567 in order to expose the

abominable, wycked, and detestable behauor of all these rowsey, ragged rabblement of rakehelles, that—under pretence of great misery, dyseases,

³ William Harrison, *A Description of Elisabethan England Written for Holinshed Chronicles* in *Harvard Classics* (New York, 1910), XXXV, 388-389.

⁴ A. V. Judges, *The Elisabethan Underworld* (New York, 1930), p. xiv; G. B. Harrison, *A Second Elisabethan Journal, 1595-1598* (New York, 1931), p. 136.

⁵ Quoted in Judges, pp. XVIII-XIX.

⁶ Quoted in G. B. Harrison, *England in Shakespeare's Day* (New York, 1928), pp. 29-30.

⁷ 14 *Eliz.*, c. 5. This classification is repeated in 1597 in 39 *Eliz.*, c. 4.

and other innumerable calamities which they fayne—through great hipocrisie do wyn and gayne great alms . . . to the vtter deludginge of the good geuers.⁸

This exposé he hoped would spur the officials to such vigorous enforcement of existing legislation as to solve this economic and social problem completely.

According to Harman the rufflers were the "worthiest of this unruly rabblement". They formerly were soldiers or serving men until choosing the vagabond life. Sometimes they boldly demanded charity; at other times they begged so circumspectly that "it would make a flynty hart to relent". When begging failed to satisfy their needs they pilfered from other beggars, old people, and boys too weak to resist them.⁹ If they escaped hanging, some rufflers rose to the rank of upright-men.

The upright-men were the aristocrats of the vagabond world, feared and respected by all the underworld. They begged, browbeat, and stole as circumstances offered, varying their methods to suit the occasion. They haunted fairs and markets where they drove a thriving trade.¹⁰ The upright-man had a right to take a share of anything obtained by any inferior beggar. He could require the latter to prove that he had been "stalled to the rogue" *i. e.*, admitted to the vagabond ranks, otherwise the upright-man could take the beggar's money or best garment.¹¹ When search was made for upright-men they lay hidden in thickets and lived on food brought by their women until the danger was passed whereupon they sold the stolen goods to keepers of tippling houses.

Hookers or anglers were night thieves who specialized in stealing clothing through open windows by means of long staves into which they set curved hooks which they used so expertly that they could lift the bedclothes off sleepers without the latter knowing it. The rogue, in vagabond language, was a beggar of lower rank. Some feigned illness or a crippled condition to gain aid; others claimed to be seeking relatives or to be delivering letters (forged, of course) to persons living at a distance. Others carried false passports claiming that they had been whipped as vagabonds and were on the way home.¹²

In the lowest brackets of roguery were several types. Palliards were wretched beggars in filthy rags who applied spearwort or other substances to their legs to raise large blisters in order to arouse pity.

⁸ Thomas Harman, *A Caveat of Waring, for Common Cursetors Vulgarely Called Vagabones* in *Early English Text Society, Extra Series*, No. XIII, ed. by Edward Viles and F. J. Furnival (London, 1869), pp. 19-20 (cited hereafter as Harman).

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-33.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 35-37, 41.

Fraters bore false credentials authorizing them to beg for some charitable institution. The abraham-men claimed to have been kept in some mad house or prison. They would behave like idiots or tell of harrowing experiences to gain aid. Fresh-water mariners pretended to be shipwrecked sailors who had lost all at sea. To vouch for their stories they carried counterfeit documents.¹³

Counterfeit cranks were young rascals who acted as if they had the falling sickness. They wandered about half naked and promptly sold any clothing given them, for they exploited their nakedness as a means of gaining assistance. To give proof of their affliction they slipped a piece of soap into the mouth when begging thereby causing them to "fome as it were a Boore, and maruelously for a time torment themselves".¹⁴ Similarly, dummerers feigned dumbness and would speak only under great torture. Harman tells of a dummerer whom he and a surgeon made confess to having a forged license. Other means failing they "tyed a halter aboute the wrestes of his handes, and hoysed him up ouer a beame, and dyd let him hang a good while" until "for very paine he required for Gods sake to let him downe".¹⁵ Educated vagabonds with a ready wit and a skilled hand supplied the forged documents of the underworld. Many a quondam university student became such a jarkman and, if he possessed ability, seldom lacked clients.

From the accounts one gains the impression that there was at least one female vagrant for every male. It was the duty of these women to supply their men with food obtained by begging or by thieving. Among these "she-beggars" were demanders of glimmer who carried forged papers alleging that their homes and goods had been burned. Bawdy baskets peddled laces, pins, and other notions to screen their pilfering tactics. *Autem morts* were married vagrant females who sometimes accompanied their husbands or went with young children whom they sent into houses by way of a window to steal. Dells were maiden vagrants, orphans or runaway serving maids, while wild dells were born vagrants worse than their wicked mothers.¹⁶

The most hated of all vagabonds were "the Wretched, wily, wandering vagabonds calling . . . themselves Egipitians". The gypsies entered England about 1500 and made themselves so disliked that Parliament in 1530 imposed heavy penalties upon them as vagrants, thieves, and fortune tellers. Despite this and other legislation gypsies continued to roam about with their women and numerous children. The latter, if small, were carried in panniers, but if old enough to straddle a horse, "were horsed, seven or eight upon one jade . . . ,

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45, 47-48.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-75, *passim*.

and curiously tied together."¹⁷ The opposition to gypsies came from their "deceitfull practises—feding the rude common people wholy addicted and given to nouelties, toyes, and new inuentiones. . . . And, to be short, all theues".¹⁸

As the numbers and depredations of all sorts of rogues increased public opinion sought a solution of the problem. Contemporaries believed that a prompt vigorous use of force would accomplish the desired result, for idleness, unemployment, and unsocial behavior were held to be vices to be dealt with sternly. Some people were unfit or unable to work and were therefore to be cared for, but the able bodied were to be made to labor through fear of severe punishments. The state too regarded vagabonds and vagrants as enemies of state and society. The authorities believed that in a well ordered state every individual fitted neatly into the place where God had put him. Hence those who for any reason were not in their proper places were to be returned there and kept there by the government. The utterly hopeless and desperate cases could be handled best by the prompt execution of the misfits. The great majority, however, were to be reclaimed to a life of honest toil. Licenses to beg would enable those anxious to work to carry on until they could get back on their feet economically. Savage whippings and mutilations would teach the idle able bodied the wisdom of labor, while houses of correction would tame the wild and incorrigible. The state tried all these methods but with only fair success.

For nearly half the Tudor period little distinction was drawn between those who would work if they could and those who could not or would not work. All were to be driven to labor by whip and fear of the gallows. Gradually a classification began to be made between those too young, too old, or too impotent to work on one hand and the sturdy beggars and vagabonds on the other and with distinctive remedies prescribed for each group—poor relief for the former; cruel punishments for the latter.

Poor relief was first applied by the large municipalities where poverty was widespread. Reliance upon voluntary contributions proving to be inadequate, London led the way in levying compulsory poor rates in 1547. By 1563 this practice became so general that Parliament decreed the imprisonment of persons refusing to pay their assessments, a principle renewed by statutes in 1572, 1576, and 1597.¹⁹

The failure of compulsory poor taxation to produce sufficient funds to care for the numbers seeking relief led to the adoption of

¹⁷ Quoted in Judges, pp. 344-345.

¹⁸ Harman, p. 23.

¹⁹ 5 *Eliz.*, c. 3; 14 *Eliz.*, c. 5; 18 *Eliz.*, c. 6; 39 *Eliz.*, c. 3 & 4.

the plan of limiting poor relief to the native poor only on the principle that charity begins and ends at home. To care for their native-born poor the towns apprenticed poor children, founded poorhouses for the aged and impotent, and furnished outdoor relief to poor living at home—practices which were applied on a national scale by the poor laws of 1597 and 1601.²⁰

The state was less concerned with the impotent poor and their relief than with the sturdy beggars and vagabonds. The reason for this was simple. The Tudor state had arisen out of the turbulent conditions of the fifteenth century, and it determined to prevent any recurrence of like disorders which might menace its existence. Fear of sedition and violence led the government to deal with poor relief as incidental to the more critical matter of curbing the potential sources of real danger. In a series of statutes it tried energetically but with indifferent success to suppress vagabondage and vagrancy by drastic measures. Yet at the same time by its legislation against inclosures and innovations in industry, the government did much to increase the numbers of those whom it sought to eliminate from the body politic.

A sketch of Tudor anti-vagrancy legislation discloses much expended effort and no little experimentation. A statute of 1497 ordered vagabonds to be set in the stocks for three days. By 1531 there were so many vagrants that Parliament decreed that any unlicensed beggar with no land, master, or means of livelihood was liable to arrest and to be beaten with whips until his body "be bloody" and ordered to return to his birthplace and go to work.²¹ The penalty for the second offense was the loss of an ear; for the third, loss of the other. In 1536 the third offense was made punishable by death.²² By a new plan tried in 1547 the vagrant was to be offered work in the presence of magistrates. Refusal to work resulted in the vagrant being branded on the breast with the letter V and being declared a slave for two years of the person charging him with vagrancy. Life servitude was the penalty for the second offense; death for the third. Vagrant children were to be apprenticed and enslaved if caught after attempted escape.²³ This act being too drastic in 1549 whipping again was prescribed, and by a statute of 1572 the vagrant was to be whipped and to have a hole burned in the ear unless some person took him into service.²⁴ This latter act failing to work because of its severity and the difficulty of enforcement, Parliament in 1593 revived the whipping penalty of 1531. The act of 1597 stiffened the penalties by requiring the vagrant to be whipped, to receive a signed and sealed

²⁰ 39 *Eliz.*, c. 3 & 4; 42 *Eliz.*, c. 2.

²¹ 22 *Henry VIII*, c. 12.

²² 27 *Henry VIII*, c. 25.

²³ 1 *Edward VI*, c. 3.

²⁴ 14 *Eliz.*, c. 5.

testimonial telling of the whipping, and to return forthwith to his birthplace or to the parish where he had last lived for a year, or to the parish through which he had last passed unwhipped. Dangerous vagabonds and leaders of rogues were to be banished for life or given life service in the galleys with death as a felon for any who returned.²⁵

In 1575 Parliament tried another experiment by ordering towns and counties to provide stocks of work materials and houses of correction "to the intent that such as be already grown up in idleness, and so rogues at this present, may not have any excuse in saying they cannot get any service or work"²⁶—provisions repeated in later laws.

These measures failed to solve the problem. Vagabonds, vagrants, and rogues were beaten, mutilated, imprisoned, banished, and executed, yet their numbers grew and poverty continued unabated. Still seeking remedies Parliament in 1597 considered seventeen bills dealing with the ramifications of this matter enacting some of them into law.²⁷

The principal reason for the failure of these well-meant efforts was the difficulty or impossibility of enforcing these laws. Enforcement was left almost entirely to local officials many of whom were lax in performing their duties. At times the Privy Council appointed special officers, provost marshals, with broad powers to secure better enforcement.²⁸ By another method, the privy search, simultaneous hunts for undesirables were made in several adjoining parishes. Such a drive when vigorously prosecuted often produced excellent results.²⁹ Occasionally a general round-up would take place in a number of counties in order to seize those evading the privy search. In 1571 eighteen counties participated in such an enterprise. Yet in a short while the number of rogues was as large as ever.

These occasional spasmodic efforts at enforcement failed because of the inadequacy and inefficiency of the Tudor police system which consisted largely of unpaid amateurs. The number of justices of the peace and their subordinates, the constables, upon whom the burden mainly fell was too small to cope with the host of vagabonds even if they all had performed their work efficiently. This duty alone might well have taken most of their time. Yet the Tudor government constantly added new duties to those devolving upon the justices of the

²⁵ 39 *Eliz.*, c. 4.

²⁶ 18 *Eliz.*, c. 3.

²⁷ Cheyney, II, 263 ff.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 247.

²⁹ An official gives the following description of his participation in a privy search—"I took order for Southwark, Lambeth, and Newington, from whence I received a shoal of forty rogues, men and women, and above . . . I did the same afternoon peruse Paul's where I took about twenty cloaked rogues . . . Upon Friday . . . there were brought in above a hundred lewd people taken in the privy search. This Saturday . . . I went to Paul's and other places . . . and found not one rogue stirring." Quoted in Judges, pp. xxxviii-xxxix.

peace; in Elizabeth's reign seventy statutes being entrusted to them for enforcement. Even the most industrious justice could not enforce so many laws well. Not a few justices were lazy and indifferent, "drones not bees" a leading official called them. In a debate in the Commons in 1601 it was declared that a justice for a half dozen chickens would dispense with a dozen penal statutes.³⁰

Under such conditions and circumstances the lack of success in suppressing vagabondage and vagrancy is not surprising. The magnitude of the problem, the meager understanding of the causes of it, and the utter inadequacy of the ways and means used in dealing with it made failure inevitable. Yet Tudor England did the best it could; it used the only machinery it possessed; it never ceased trying; and it did make a beginning in solving a social problem some aspects of which still remain unsolved. It certainly deserves credit for that beginning, modest and inefficient though it was.

³⁰ Quoted in Frances Elizabeth Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England* in *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science* (Baltimore, 1926), XLIV, 240.

EARLY NEWSPAPERS OF ABBEVILLE DISTRICT, 1812-1834

HARRY L. WATSON

The Index-Journal, Greenwood

The first newspaper published in the original Abbeville district of the state of South Carolina was also the first newspaper published in the adjoining district of Edgefield.

This dual distinction for *The Anti-Monarchist*, the name of this first newspaper, is due to the fact that publication was first started in Edgefield Court House or "Village," as it later became known to all inhabitants of the district, and not long after the establishment of the paper, its publisher, Thomas M. Davenport, removed his press from Edgefield to Cambridge, the largest town of the two districts and just over the border line between Edgefield and Abbeville.

From the only copy of this paper known to be in existence it is easy to ascertain by the volume number and the whole number, always to be found as part of the front page masthead of old newspapers and still found on most modern newspapers, that the first issue of *The Anti-Monarchist* was May 27, 1811.¹

From available records of newspaper publications in South Carolina, Davenport's venture also appears to have title to the second newspaper published north of Columbia as well as the first in the two districts of Edgefield and Abbeville.

The distinction of being the first newspaper published in the state north of Columbia seems to belong to *Miller's Weekly Messenger* which John Miller started in Pendleton early in 1807,² and this paper was also possibly the first in America to be published so far west. John Miller, "Printer to the State" so called, was a native of London whose rather unusual career can only be remarked. Before removing to Pendleton, he printed in Charleston the second daily paper in the United States.³ His weekly paper in Pendleton finally became the *Pendleton Weekly Messenger* and was continued as such for a number of years. As Miller died in 1809,⁴ his *Weekly Messenger* was begun considerably before Davenport began *The Anti-Monarchist*.

¹ Copy of *The Anti-Monarchist*, dated September 9, 1811, owned by Mrs. J. L. Mimis, of Edgefield.

² The issue of March 20, 1807, in the University of Wisconsin files is marked "Vol. I, No. 10." (Note supplied by Dr. G. H. Gilpatrick of Furman University.)

³ James Melvin Lee, *History of American Journalism* (Boston and New York, 1917), p. 119.

⁴ W. L. King, *The Newspaper Press of Charleston* (Charleston, 1872), p. 36.

It was the opinion of the late Colonel R. W. Simpson, a native and life long resident of Pendleton, that John Miller began his *Weekly Messenger* in Pendleton so early as 1795.⁵ Miller was the first clerk of court of Pendleton district, Colonel Simpson adds, and is buried at Old Stone Church. Miller, according to tradition, was forced to leave London because of connection as a printer with the famous "Letters of Junius" which viciously scourged the English ministers of King George III. The generally accepted author of the letters was Sir Philip Francis.

The Anti-Monarchist had a secondary title, like the tale of a kite, after the fashion of the time and this addition in small type under the front page masthead was *And South Carolina Advertiser*.

Also after the manner of the period it had a motto. No newspaper in those days could face the public unless adorned with a motto. In this case the motto was a sentence credited to Benjamin Franklin: "Where Liberty dwells, there is my country." These mottoes in the early days reflected somewhat the (so-called) policy of the paper—a characteristic often hard to define—and also the personal views and opinions of the editor.

With this fact in mind it may be possible to detect some explanation for the peculiar name, *The Anti-Monarchist*, selected by Davenport for his Edgefield paper, soon after his removal to Cambridge. This trace of reason for the name is slightly enhanced by the leading article on the front page of the only issue known to be in existence,⁶ a long article from the *Rutland, Vermont, Herald*, purporting to be written by "George Napoleon", of England, addressed to Colonel Timothy Pickering, of Massachusetts, praising Pickering's past efforts in behalf of English royalty in America and indulging in some rather rude references to the known mental sickness of King George III, of England. Colonel Pickering was a prominent American of his day, having served as Postmaster General in the last days of Washington's presidency, later as Secretary of War and as Secretary of State. If he ever did any missionary work for English royalty the record does not show it. Why Editor Davenport was so moved by the spectre of a monarchy over here supported by England is not easily explained.

In the same year *The Anti-Monarchist* came into being, a "bright young man" named John C. Calhoun, well equipped for a career

⁵ R. W. Simpson, *History of Old Pendleton District with a Genealogy of Leading Families of the District* (Anderson, S. C., 1913), p. 157. Also signed contribution in Richard Newman Brackett, *The Old Stone Church, Oconee County* (Columbia, S. C., 1905), p. 37, by Mrs. Julia Miller Brown, great-great granddaughter of Printer John Miller. Mrs. Brown thought the *Weekly Messenger* was started by Miller "not long after 1785."

⁶ The copy owned by Mrs. J. L. Mims, of Edgefield.

at the bar, was elected to the national House of Representatives as a "War Democrat," succeeding his cousin, Joseph Calhoun, in this seat,⁷ and was sworn in on March 4, 1811, a few weeks before *The Anti-Monarchist* made its first appearance. And as the "First act of Calhoun on the national stage was to sound the war trumpet"⁸ as one of the leaders of the war party which finally brought into being the War of 1812, it may be possible that *The Anti-Monarchist* bespoke correctly the existence of a much stronger dislike and fear of England and her royal designs on this country than we can now know.

Editor Davenport evidently did not find business all that he desired in Edgefield and the logical move for his enterprise was to a place offering promise of more business. Such a place was the village of Cambridge. Cambridge was no longer the trading center it had once been, but it was still the largest business center in the two districts, and Davenport might well hope to secure all legal advertising from both Edgefield and Abbeville districts, and subscribers from a much larger area than he would have in Edgefield alone.

Cambridge was the fancy or more dignified, but not the legal, name for the original community of Ninety Six. Ninety Six was first a trading post, and its peculiar name was given it because it happened to be ninety-six miles from Keowee, the principal town of the Cherokee nation,⁹ but the distance was not measured by a mythical Indian maiden with a mythical speedometer.

When South Carolina was divided into seven judicial districts by the act of 1769, six of these districts were given exact boundaries and then practically all the rest of the State was lumped into a seventh which was given the name Ninety Six district with a court house at the town of the same name. Cambridge included all that the original town of Ninety Six had, but by the creation of counties and county courts, quickly abolished with courts of increased jurisdiction established for the smaller districts, Cambridge began to lose its importance and although courts of equity were held there and in Columbia for some time after the courts of general sessions and common pleas were held in the smaller districts, this did not mean much in the way of business for the few remaining lawyers there, nor did it draw such crowds as would the other courts, especially the court of general sessions.

A number of pen pictures of Cambridge are available in current writings of the decades prior to and just after the turn of the nine-

⁷ *Biographical Directory of the American Congress* (Washington, 1928), p. 96.

⁸ H. von Holst, *Life of John C. Calhoun* (Cambridge, 1882), p. 16.

⁹ A. S. Sailey, Secretary of the S. C. Historical Commission, *Notes on George Hunter's Map of the Cherokee Country* (Columbia, 1917), p. 1.

teenth century, but one of special interest as showing the place a few years before Davenport removed his paper there, is found in the diary of Edward Hooker, a Yale graduate, who came down to South Carolina in 1805 to become head of the College of Cambridge, a college that was never more than an academy.¹⁰ Mr. Hooker's entry in his diary is dated February 27, 1805, and follows:

The town of Cambridge is nothing more than a snug village of 15 or 20 houses and stores on the top of a small hill called Cambridge Hill. There is an area in the center of it, where stands an old brick Court house. At a little distance down the hill is the jail—both in a neglected state. The Village has seven stores and three taverns. Its appearance is not at all flourishing; and it is said to have been decaying ever since the new judiciary arrangements by which the courts were removed to Abbeville.

It could not have been much improved a half dozen years later when Davenport decided it was a better place for a newspaper than Edgefield. Edgefield must have been most unpromising at that time.

The exact day and month of Davenport's removal of *The Anti-Monarchist* from Edgefield to Cambridge is not known, but we have direct evidence that he was publishing the paper at Cambridge in 1812. In the South Carolina law reports of Nott and McCord there is embalmed at least one bitter disappointment of Davenport in the matter of getting legal advertising from Abbeville district.¹¹ The record covers a decision in the case of John Turner v. William McCrea. A small tract of land belonging to McCrea was sold by the sheriff of Abbeville, at auction, October 6, 1812, and was bought in by Turner. McCrea later claimed the sale was not legal because the sale had not been advertised by the sheriff in a public gazette which was published at Cambridge, a place within the district of Abbeville, pursuant to the act of 1797 and offered to prove by a "Mr. Davenport (the printer of a paper called *The Anti-Monarchist*) that the advertisement had not been inserted in his paper, which evidence was rejected." So we know *The Anti-Monarchist* was being published in Cambridge in 1812. Davenport received a heavier blow later when the law requiring publication in a gazette of the sale of lands in Abbeville and many other districts was repealed.

How long the paper was continued at Cambridge is not known, but Editor Davenport appears to have been living in Cambridge in 1816 as his name (spelled Deavenport, or as still pronounced) appears as a patient of Dr. Zachary Meriweather for that year in the account book of the doctor who was a resident of Cambridge.¹²

¹⁰ *Diary of Edward Hooker*, Report of the American Historical Association (Washington, 1906), p. 884.

¹¹ Nott & McCord, Vol. I, Columbia, 1817, p. 11, I S. C. L.

¹² Account Book of Dr. Zachary Meriweather for 1816-17, now owned by the University of South Carolina.

In the following year, 1817, Davenport was advertising his printing plant at Cambridge for sale in the Charleston newspapers.¹³ How rapidly events and individuals are erased from the records and minds of men is evidenced by the results which followed an inquiry forty years later by the *Charleston Courier* in an editorial inquiring as to whether there ever was a newspaper at Cambridge and, if so, what happened to it, is shown by the answer given the *Charleston Courier* by the *Edgefield Advertiser*, date not given, and published a month later in the *Courier*¹⁴ in the following words:

In reply to the *Courier's* inquiry about the paper at Old Cambridge, our information is that there was such a paper published there by one Davenport, but for how long a time, deponent saith not. He removed his press from Cambridge to this place (Edgefield) about 1820. Davenport soon sold out to Benj. McNary who established at this place the *South Carolina Republican*.

That Davenport continued to operate a printing plant at Cambridge between the years 1812 and 1820 is evidenced in so-called legal printed forms bearing the imprint: "T. M. Davenport, Cambridge S. C." which have been found in different places.¹⁵

A feeling of security against the possible development of a monarchial form of government after the War of 1812 may have brought about a change of name in Davernport's paper at Cambridge as we have the positive statement of a native of the community who could recall events in the village "as far back as 1812" that the newspaper in Cambridge was the *Cambridge Republican*.¹⁶

Dr. Richard C. Griffin, a native of the Cambridge community, in a series of reminiscences of the village, written in 1879, says, after describing the academy, as the College of Cambridge had become in its last days, the public library, the mercantile establishments, the lawyers and doctors:

The next idea was—and perhaps the most important—to have a newspaper, an article we all recognize as absolutely indispensable to every well regulated household (village) composed of intelligent and enterprising citizens.

Through the liberality of a few gentlemen money was raised, all the necessary material bought, and the first number of the *Cambridge Republican* was thrown to the breeze. It was published by a gentleman by

¹³ Advertisement mentioned as of date January 4, 1817, in an editorial in the *Charleston Courier* captioned: "The Newspaper Press", in its issue of June 20, 1857.

¹⁴ Editorial in the *Charleston Courier*, July 14, 1857.

¹⁵ A sheriff's deed to real estate owned by M. S. Chipley, Greenwood, S. C., is typical.

¹⁶ Dr. Richard C. Griffin contributed a series of articles giving reminiscences of old Cambridge to the *Ninety Six Guardian* beginning April 11, 1879. Dr. Griffin was then living near Augusta, Ga. Subsequently these articles were reprinted in *The Greenwood Index* and the statement as to the name of the newspaper appeared in *The Greenwood Index*, August 22, 1907.

the name of Davenport. The writer at one time had several copies, but first one and then another would borrow a copy, just for a few days only, until the last one was taken. The small brick office situated on the Mabert lot, was used as the printing office.

This is the only reference to *The Cambridge Republican* we have noted. When Davenport finally sold his press to Benjamin McNary in 1820, and McNary removed it to Edgefield and began the *South Carolina Republican* he may have simply changed Cambridge to South Carolina in selecting a name for the paper, or Dr. Griffin may have been confused in his recollections.

The article by Dr. Griffin in the *Ninety Six Guardian* brought forth from Dr. Ephraim R. Calhoun, then living in Greenwood, who had located at Cambridge in 1824, as a young physician, the following: "I never knew what became of Mr. Davenport but he deserves to be remembered as the pioneer editor of Upper Carolina and 'R. C. G.' ought to hand down to posterity his number of the *Cambridge Republican* as the first newspaper published in the State above Columbia."¹⁷

As noted above, this distinction belongs to Printer John Miller who began his *Miller's Weekly Messenger* at Pendleton some four or five years before T. M. Davenport started his *Anti-Monarchist* of Edgefield and Cambridge, changed, if Dr. Griffin was correct, to the *Cambridge Republican* after 1812.

Dr. Calhoun knew of Davenport as, in the same article, he refers humorously to Davenport's unsuccessful attempt to marry a well-to-do widow, Mrs. James Noble, of Calhoun's Mill, Abbeville district. Her late husband, Captain James Noble, commanded an artillery company in the War of 1812, composed of volunteers from the Calhoun's Mill section. This failure and disappointment in love might have some bearing on the ultimate disappearance of Davenport.

One final reference to Davenport shows him to have been a man of some enterprise and ingenuity. The details are found in the unpublished memoirs of Robert Henry Wardlaw, for years a prominent merchant of Abbeville, and written, as he says, "for his children," in 1885.¹⁸

Early in 1818 one John O'Brien and a young companion named Henry Turner escaped from a Georgia prison, stole a horse each and crossed Savannah River at Barksdale's Ferry into Abbeville district. Seeing a lone rider ahead of them, O'Brien proposed an attack with the hope of getting money. Riding rapidly the two caught up with

¹⁷ Reprinted from the *Ninety Six Guardian* as an undated clipping in *The Greenwood Index*, September 5, 1907.

¹⁸ Manuscript read in 1930, at that time in the custody of Mrs. James H. Austin, Abbeville, S. C. The unpublished manuscript is owned by Dr. Patterson Wardlaw, of Columbia, a grandson of Robert H. Wardlaw, the author.

the lone traveler, and as they came opposite him, one on each side, O'Brien, who had loosened the stirrup leather on his offside, struck the man on the head with it. The blow was sufficient to cause death. Two dollars and fifty cents was all the money secured. The two robbers turned about face and had gone several miles before the body was discovered. The persistence of a constable named William Truitt resulted in the arrest of first one and later the other, below Orangeburg.

Mr. Wardlaw as a young man was deputy clerk to his father, James Wardlaw, who was clerk of both the general sessions and common pleas courts of Abbeville district. Although he was only eleven years old at the time, he remembered the affair well and had the story confirmed many times in later life by his father. At the trial, O'Brien, the older of the two, was convicted. Henry Turner was acquitted.

O'Brien appears to have been the John Dillinger of his day. He claimed to have been born in Ireland and admitted to having seen the inside of prisons in Ireland, Canada and in many of the states. The Abbeville jail was the last to give him cell room for he was sentenced to hang in November of that year, 1818.

So hair-raising and bloodcurdling were the tales of crime told by O'Brien that a group of the people of Abbeville thought these tales should be preserved for the entertainment of and as a warning to posterity.

The great scholar of the day in all this part of the state was Dr. Moses Waddell, head of the famous Waddell School at Willington in the Savannah River valley of Abbeville district, and Dr. Waddell seemed the most fit man to "take it down and write it out." Dr. Waddell agreed to come in after O'Brien had promised to tell his life story, but Dr. Waddell was old and not very well, and he did not get to Abbeville until the very day before the hanging was to take place.

When Dr. Waddell arrived at the jail to hear the sordid story from O'Brien he found out that a printer by the name of T. M. Davenport had come up from Cambridge several days before and had received the full confession of the bloody-minded O'Brien. Dr. Waddell, Mr. Wardlaw says, wasted no more time on the distasteful business and soon set out on his trip back home.

Davenport, meanwhile, had been busy, and early on the day of the hanging he showed up in Abbeville with a goodly supply of printed pamphlets, after the manner of the redoubtable Parson M. L. Weems and possibly in the same "stilted, turgid style with a variety of all sorts of improbable anecdotes and cheap moralizing" of Mr. Weems. Davenport secured the services of a live young man

named Gibson Woolridge as head salesman, and Woolridge had a number of active helpers. Just so soon as the trap was sprung, and the doomed wretch had paid his final debt to society for his crimes, the salesmen began moving through the big crowd, offering the pamphlets for sale at twenty-five cents. They were soon all sold, Mr. Wardlaw wrote. Not one of the pamphlets is known to be in existence today.

Mr. Wardlaw added that Davenport shortly after that located in Abbeville and did some printing for a time, but this is the only statement ever noted that Davenport spent any time in Abbeville as a printer.

With this burst of enterprise, Davenport disappears from the record and as many of the commentators on him remarked, "nothing more was ever heard of him."

For the next decade the people of Abbeville district were "utterly destitute" so far as having a newspaper printed anywhere in the district itself. But instead of bemoaning the fact that they were dwellers in darkness in the matter of having no editorial light and guidance for their daily lives they were rather pleased to be allowed to go their own way, even if not to success, better farming, and more education! Incidentally, it takes a newspaperman a good many years to realize that he is true and lineal descendant of Ishmael.

As proof that the people of Abbeville district in the 1818-28 period were rather well satisfied with the no-newspaper handicap, is this observation from one of them, writing his recollections of those days some forty years after, under the nom-de-plume, "Ex-Abbevillian" and referring particularly to the first newspaper printed at Abbeville court house:

"Newspapers in 'those days' were not in popular and public favor, and the common and backwoods apprehension of them was of ipecac, jalap and rhubarb and other medicines in disease, to be dispensed with just so soon as the patient could get along without them." ¹⁹

This belaborer of the budding editorial genius of those early days knew how to express himself emphatically, and final analysis would seem to justify his observation that the great body of the people one hundred years ago managed to get along quite well without newspapers and had some ground for being suspicious of the so-called public prints of their time.

The "Ex-Abbevillian" in the same contribution to the *Abbeville Press and Banner*, who after the passage of many years, remembered that only two county papers in the northwest section of South Caro-

¹⁹ "Ex-Abbevillian" in *The Abbeville Press and Banner*, July 19, 1876.

lina lived on after the subsidence of the storm of Nullification, to wit: *The Greenville Mountaineer* and the *Edgefield Advertiser*, said:

These [two] continued some how or some how else until they were met by the new order of things, which began to estimate the press of more good than evil, and that the ill was beyond suppression or remedy; yet country papers were inaugurated with trepidation by the public and never under popular demand, for while it might be true that 'under the rule of men entirely great the pen is mightier than the sword' it was not expected at that day that a country paper could have or enlist such pens but more likely to be allowed as a medium of gossip, a conduit of offensive vanity at the expense of others, and unfortunately the result was too often true to public expectations.²⁰

Regardless of how correctly this "Ex-Abbevillian" diagnosed the general newspaper situation—the only clue to his identity so far discoverable is that he was a native Abbevillian who was a doctor and who had removed to the West and in his later years "wrote pieces" of his early life in Abbeville to the home town paper—it has to be admitted that he was a remarkably keen observer and some of the things he pointed out as weak spots in the conduct of newspapers seem to be noticeable to this day.

The second newspaper to be printed in Abbeville district was also the first to be printed in the village composed mostly of log huts which were growing up around the new court house and jail. The village of Abbeville in the early eighteen twenties, on the authority of a resident who gave a pen picture of the place many years after, was a "very contracted village," naming four merchants and "several bars," with two watch repairers, a "first class male school," Presbyterian and Methodist congregations, three doctors, increased to seven by 1830, four or five lawyers, but no mention of a newspaper or a chamber of commerce.²¹

This first newspaper to be published at the court house town of Abbeville was to have been named the *Abbeville Republican* when it was first proposed, but by the time of first publication the name had been changed to the *Abbeville Whig*. The name "Whig" evidently was selected for its Revolutionary War appellation for tried and true patriots rather than for the Whig political party which did not get under way as an organized party until a few years later. The name of the paper might as well have been the *Abbeville Patriot* as the *Abbeville Whig* if this interpretation be correct. Other reasons for the change from *Republican* to *Whig* may have been a desire to avoid confusion with the *South Carolina Republican*. Greenville's first newspaper, the *Greenville Republican*, had only recently been changed to the *Greenville Mountaineer*.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ "More Anon" in the *Abbeville Press*, May 10, 1867.

That the new paper proposed for Abbeville was to be a mouth-piece for or organ in this section of the nullification party seems an established conclusion from statements in letters from the editor to the members of his family.²²

The editor of the new paper was Samuel A. Townes, a native of Greenville. In 1826, at the age of twenty, Townes entered the University of Virginia and was there a year, returning to Greenville to "read law," in whose office is not known, and in 1829 he was admitted to the bar, being registered in Columbia.²³

Townes selected Abbeville as the place to "hang out his shingle" in the phrase of the day, and it was logical when certain connections are considered. A brother, Dr. Henry H. Townes, had begun the practice of medicine in the Calhoun settlement near Calhoun's Mill on Little River in Abbeville district. Dr. Townes had only recently married Lucretia Calhoun, a daughter of William Calhoun, and a niece of John C. Calhoun. Another daughter of William Calhoun, Martha, was the wife of Armistead Burt, who was later to become a member of Congress from this congressional district. Burt was a lawyer, and young Townes was later associated with Burt. Burt was "interested in agricultural pursuits," as one biographer put it, and soon began to acquire land in the Calhoun settlement, and his plantation, Orange Hill, was later one of the largest holdings in that community. George McDuffie had but recently married Mary Singleton and was preparing to build his mansion, Cherry Hill, and was a neighbor of Dr. Henry Townes and of Armistead Burt.

These connections were influential and had an important bearing in shaping the political and journalistic tendencies of Samuel A. Townes who had become a resident of Abbeville and member of the Abbeville bar.

"I find the citizens of this place [Abbeville] very kind and hospitable and I have already extended my acquaintance among the most respectable to as great an extent as I wish," Townes wrote his mother early in March 1829, just after his arrival.

Although the forest fires of nullification were spreading rapidly over the state there was not so much excitement in the Piedmont

²² A collection of family letters by members of the Townes family, of Greenville, owned by the late Miss Claudia Townes, of Greenville, and donated by her to the Library of the University of South Carolina. Many of the letters are from Samuel A. Townes, first editor of the *Abbeville Whig*, to his brother, George Franklin Townes, of Greenville, later editor of the *Greenville Mountaineer*; to his mother, Mrs. Rachel Townes, of Greenville; from George F. Townes to his brother Samuel A. Townes in Abbeville; from Dr. Henry H. Townes of the Calhoun settlement in Abbeville County to his brother, George F. Townes in Greenville; and others of the same family. Further references to these letters under the general head, Townes Correspondence.

²³ J. B. O'Neill, *Biographical Sketches of the Bench and Bar in South Carolina*, 2 vols. (Charleston, 1859), II, 613.

country as along the coast. As the old home of John C. Calhoun it was natural to expect keen interest in Abbeville district in the new political developments in which Calhoun was a prominent figure.

The fact that Abbeville district was linked so closely with Calhoun and the Calhoun family gave it unusual importance as a battle ground for both nullificationists and unionists. This also intensified the feeling between the two factions. As elsewhere the two had taunting nicknames for each other. The nullificationists were called "Nullies" by the unionists while the latter in turn were called "Subs", a contraction of "Submissionists", by the "Nullies".

The Calhoun faction made the first move for a newspaper it would appear, for early in September, 1831, Samuel A. Townes was writing to his brother, George Franklin Townes in Greenville, that the prospectus for the new paper was out and that the venture was being cordially received. He was pleased to "discover the stockholders and the public generally are sincerely delighted at my acceptance of the editorial conduct of the paper." He was ordering fifty more copies of the prospectus from Dr. F. W. Symmes, editor of the *Pendleton Messenger*. An appeal to the Greenville brother for some editorial help was made, and the letter closed by a special request for help in writing the "first editorial," for the prospective editor observed, "the character and future success of the paper depends in a great degree upon the respectability of this [editorial salutatory]."²⁴

Five days later, Samuel Townes writes his brother in Greenville with enthusiasm, "my paper comes on bravely—I have heard from only two postoffices in this District but feel safe in saying that we have between one hundred and two hundred subscribers. We have 98 on our list in this place. I am obliged to do well."²⁵

Indications that the "Nullies" had the state organized, with a central "Association" in Charleston and district associations in certain, if not all, districts in the State, are found in this paragraph of the same letter: "Our association on last saleday appointed a committee of three, Burt [Hon. Armistead Burt] chairman, to prepare an address to the voters of the Dist. Burt has written two or three sheets already. I have just read it and think it does him much credit."

National troubles and friction with President Andrew Jackson were not the only worries or headaches afflicting the people of this section at this time as in a letter two weeks later, the prospective editor writes of "apprehension of a Negro insurrection" and refers to a similar alarm in Greenville. And fresh rumors of the same sort from York, Newberry, and Laurens are mentioned.²⁶

²⁴ Townes Correspondence, S. A. Townes to G. F. Townes, September 8, 1831.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, September 13, 1831.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, October 8, 1831.

The unsatisfactory condition of the nullification party in Abbeville district which had been described is now improved, Samuel Townes writes his brother in this same communication, and he is more "sanguine now than when I wrote last," a change he intimates was brought about by the excellent "address" prepared by Armistead Burt for the benefit of voters in Abbeville district. A sidelight on a different phase of life in Abbeville is found in the observation by Townes that he and Burt have a fair share of the 125 "cases" returned for the next court there, "at best here the law seems a beggarly business," another possible motive for adding editorial activities to legal practice.

The proposed new paper at Abbeville was attracting attention elsewhere as this closing paragraph of the letter shows: "Hayne, Hamilton and Turnbull were a few days since put down by Governor Hamilton as subscribers for the *Abbeville Republican* and Hamilton says if funds should be wanting that the Association in Charleston will at a word supply them.—I will not want them. I became acquainted with Hamilton and heard him make a long speech, he is a fine little fellow."

A rather interesting disclosure is here made. The Charleston Association, as general director of the state rights movement rapidly developing into definite nullification form and figure, not only had an eye on similar activity in other sections of the state, but was prepared to put up cash as substantial aid where needed. A subsidized newspaper was evidently not a new thing in politics of that day and the proposed new paper at Abbeville was regarded as important enough to have financial aid if needed. It should be put down to the credit of Townes and his supporters that they proposed to pay their own way. His sentence: "I will not want them" [funds from Charleston] is quite to his credit.

The reference to the name of the new paper, the *Abbeville Republican*, it is again explained, shows the real name the *Abbeville Whig* had not yet been selected.

Where the press and type were bought and how they were transported to Abbeville is not stated in any of the letters, but early in November, 1831, Dr. Henry H. Townes, who lived in the Calhoun settlement, wrote from his home, "Benlomond," to his brother, G. F. Townes, in Greenville, that Sam, the editor-to-be, had gone to Augusta by way of Edgefield in search of a printer, and the trip would suggest to other editors and publishers of a generation or so ago the trials and tribulations wrapped up in the phrase "in search of a printer".

Dr. Townes continues with more detail of the stage of preparations for the new paper at Abbeville. "The press and all the appur-

tenances have arrived," he writes, "and workmen only are wanted to commence the work of—ink. The first number will in all probability be issued in less than two weeks." ²⁷

The appearance of the newspaper to advance the cause of nullification and check the further spread of the doctrine of submission was further delayed, it was explained on November 20, 1831, by Editor Townes to his brother G. F., in Greenville: "in consequence of a disappointment by a printer whom I had engaged in Edgefield. F. Wardlaw [later to become the distinguished Chancellor Francis H. Wardlaw] the editor of the *Carolinian* [published in Edgefield as the successor of the *South Carolina Republican*] made the contract with the printer and is the cause of his detention." Townes goes on to explain that he did not place any blame on his friend, Frank Wardlaw, as Wardlaw's foreman ran away just as the printer who was to go to Abbeville to work for Townes got ready to start on his journey so Wardlaw had to keep his one printer until he could find one for himself. Townes continues:

I have had two workmen engaged in the office for a week during which time he (or they?) has distributed the type and by the assistance of Taggart at job printing has made about thirty-five dollars. We have now three hundred and seventy subscribers on our list and your list (except twenty or thirty names) is the only one we have received from abroad. I still have high hopes. Some of the leading Submissionists in the district have recently become subscribers.

Not that they were showing signs of conversion, but probably they wanted to watch the tactics of the opposition.

Editor Townes, in closing his letter, makes the first reference to the change in name of the proposed paper. He tells his brother he is not too sanguine but his optimism is based on a "sober and sensible view of matters." Then he says: "So much for *The Whig*."

The name of the paper then had been changed some time before publication and was to be the *Abbeville Whig* and not the *Abbeville Republican*.

The Whig had the inevitable or indispensable motto. It was original in part of its form, but not in sentiment. It read: "We hope in God" and this was a sort of acrostic using the letters of the word "w-h-i-g." ²⁸

The Taggart mentioned in this letter was John Taggart, who was later sheriff of Abbeville district and appears to have been a partner of Townes in the newspaper venture. It appears further in the

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Dr. Henry Townes to G. F. Townes, November 3, 1831.

²⁸ Statement by Miss Claudia K. Townes, a niece of Samuel A. Townes, in 1930. A file of this paper was in existence, she also stated, up to about 1910 and was owned by a grandniece of Editor Samuel A. Townes, but it was destroyed by a fire which burned the home in that year.

correspondence that the paper may have been a corporation or that there were other stockholders, though Townes and Taggart appear to have had majority control.

When the *Abbeville Whig* had actually come into being, the reception, to judge from the editor, was all that could be desired. "My paper," says he, "takes gloriously in this Dist. Every one who speaks to me about it, and it is the lion of the day, speaks in the most flattering way of it."²⁹ He is highly elated to have 425 subscribers and says "there is not a day since the paper commenced that I do not receive one or more. I, a few days since, rec'd one list of fifteen from Charleston. Our list at that place exceeds thirty and we have an assurance of doubling that."³⁰

Even genius as well as enthusiasm has limits, however, and five days later Editor Townes was writing his brother, G. F., in Greenville to please send a "poetical address for the carrier boys"—an old newspaper Christmas custom, and the confession is made to the brother in Greenville that the public in Abbeville esteems the new editor an "universal genius" and if he does not give them some poetry they will be grievously disappointed!

But poetry and Christmas thoughts were soon to be thrown on the scrap heap of outworn and discarded things. The entire year just ahead, 1832, was to be, as Dr. D. D. Wallace describes it, for all South Carolina, "a long and bitter campaign".³¹

The state rights organization in Abbeville as elsewhere in the state was seriously considering the possibility of an armed clash with the Federal Government even this early as a letter from Editor Townes to his brother G. F., in Greenville in February—just about two months after the *Abbeville Whig* had started publication—shows. Answering an inquiry as to the condition of arms in the State Arsenal at Abbeville, Editor Townes says: "The arms in the Arsenal at this place are all undergoing repairs and in a few days there will be upwards of a thousand stand in as fine order for use as any gun that ever belonged to John Parris"³²—a reference evidently to a common acquaintance in Greenville.

In this same letter Editor Townes answers a question on "political affairs" by saying everything is in such an "unsettled state" that he finds it impossible to come to any "satisfactory or settled conclusion" but after several more sentences of the same tenor he says: "To cut the matter short, my private opinion is that the

²⁹ Townes Correspondence, S. A. Townes to G. F. Townes, December 11, 1831.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ D. D. Wallace, *History of South Carolina* (New York, 1934), II, 476.

³² Townes Correspondence, S. A. Townes to G. F. Townes, February 10, 1832.

chances of war to say the least are doubtful." However, he seems inclined to be prepared and says: "If Mr. Blessingame (a Greenville family connection) does not want his sword tell him I will be extremely obliged to him to sell it to me. I will give him any reasonable price." He had tried to buy a sword, he says, in Columbia and Augusta but "none were to be had."

The people of Abbeville district were, like the rest of the state, watching events in the Congress closely. The hope that there would be a reduction in the protective tariff on items affecting the South so adversely, as many believed, was blasted by the passage of a new tariff act by the Congress on July 14, 1832. This act, as Dr. D. F. Houston points out, stripped the tariff act of 1828 of some of its most obnoxious features, it is true, but still did not provide for such reductions as the South Carolina opponents of the tariff schedules thought were dictated by justice.³³

The news of this act reached Abbeville in due time and *The Whig* did its part in viewing with alarm, denouncing, and threatenings.

Just ten days before this event, Editor Townes attended one of the seven or eight Fourth of July celebrations in the district and made a speech to the "assemblage of about six hundred persons."³⁴

Editor Townes reports in the same letter that the Union party had started three candidates (for the legislature) and they are expected to put out a full ticket. He predicts easy defeat of the "Sub" ticket and adds that if Congress adjourns without taking action in the matter of tariff reduction the nullification party will win overwhelmingly as many people in Abbeville had been crying "Wait, wait" to see what the Congress would do and if they could be convinced of "the futility of this hope," would then be willing to "act with our party [Nullification] and if our remedy fails to resort to disunion or war and bloodshed."

Summer heat and political heat began to increase after the action of the Congress on July 14th of the year 1832, and Editor Townes finds a clever scheme to fill up his editorial columns while taking part in the daily discussions and debates of the little village of Abbeville. His scheme was to use sections of his Fourth of July speech every week, a sort of serial affair. He found the public so insistent for "something of the first order of intellect," however, that he is "running statements from McDuffie, Hayne, Hamilton, Turnbull, etc."—Calhoun was not mentioned as he was still directing from backstage, apparently.

How the Abbeville public received its general news and information on public affairs is thus described by Editor Townes in this

³³ D. F. Houston, *Nullification in South Carolina* (New York, 1896), p. 107.
³⁴ Townes Correspondence, S. A. Townes to G. F. Townes, July 5, 1832.

same letter: "My office is full of villagers who have come in and elected a reader of the address; all being anxious to hear it and none but myself having received a copy." This "address" was the famous "Address To The People of South Carolina" signed by Hayne, Miller, McDuffie, Davis, Felder, Griffin, Nuckolls and Barnwell.

Governor James Hamilton (to be succeeded soon by Robert Y. Hayne) was expected to come to Abbeville and make a speech on August 5th, Editor Townes said in a letter dated the day before, but no reference to the speech or whether he came or not is found later. McDuffie, Davis, and Calhoun had also been invited, but the letters did not reach them in time to make arrangements to come, it was explained.³⁵

The Union party of the district was not idle while all this was going on and a public meeting sponsored by this party was arranged for sale day in September, the *Whig's* editor reports. He adds that the nullifiers would give a public dinner after this Union party rally.

The election showed the Abbeville nullifiers were far from having everything their own way even though they had had the only newspaper organ in this part of the state. The nullifiers elected their ticket, five members of the House and one of the State Senate, by a vote of 1,666 to 916, over the union or submission party. The union party made a poorer showing in Pendleton (Calhoun's home district) as they did also in Edgefield, but the Union party won in Greenville, Spartanburg and some other upper state districts.

The Abbeville Whig, no doubt, had much to be concerned about in the piping times of the rest of the year 1832 with the Nullification Convention finally to cap the climax, but the record is missing. There is an intimation in a letter by Editor Townes to his brother in Greenville, G. F. Townes, that the *Abbeville Whig* was not so satisfactory as it had been. The association in the practice of law with Armistead Burt continued and the practice seemed to be looking up in the latter part of 1832 for Editor Townes wrote: "If the prospect [increased law business] should brighten I will give up *The Whig* at the end of the year for it is ruining my health and temper and making me rapidly a mere politician which is the most miserable and unprofitable of all conceivable callings." The writer was then twenty-six years old.

But he did not give up *The Whig* at the end of the year as the youthful editor was writing his brother in Greenville in June, 1833: "I will, in the first place, have a settlement with Taggart [Sheriff John Taggart who was his partner in the majority control of the paper] either sell my part of *The Whig* or buy his." He was resolved, he went on, to end the partnership and might buy out Tag-

³⁵ *Ibid.*, S. A. Townes to G. F. Townes, August 14, 1832.

gart if he thought the paper could earn so much as \$1,500.00 annually.³⁶

Printing office troubles are like Banquo's ghost—they will not down—and a month later the editor was writing his brother, who by this time was a lawyer and editor in Greenville, that he "had at last succeeded in securing a sort of flim-nap [a word the writer has never noted before] printer and hopes to get along with as little trouble as is inseparable from a printing establishment."

In this same letter, the young editor reports that he is spending the Glorious Fourth quietly at home as he did not "wish to make a speech" and "as the exposure to the sun, whiskey and half-barbecued beef, pork and mutton might give" him "the fever or the cholera!"

Nearly six months later, in November, 1833, he says: "I have not sold *The Whig* and do not know that I shall be able to do so before next Friday."

He must have done so as the next report from him shows that he had removed to Marion, Alabama, where he was editing a new paper called *The Mercury* and the publisher appeared to be W. Nelson, who had been his printer for a time. Whether this was the G. E. W. Nelson who was associated with B. Bynum in the publication of the ill-fated *Southern Sentinel*, edited by Turner Bynum, in Greenville in 1832, is not known. Turner Bynum was killed in a duel by Editor B. F. Perry, of *The Greenville Mountaineer* a few months later.³⁷

Just when the *Abbeville Whig* flickered, wavered, and finally made its last gasp is not known. If it was continued after Editor Townes removed to Alabama in 1834 is not known. There are no references to it in any court record of that period or in any of the existing files of later Abbeville newspapers, as being published after that year. There is a direct reference to its demise, as it were, in 1834 by the same "Ex-Abbevillian" who was writing his recollections of Abbeville from a far western State, as he said in a vast, indefinite way, and printed in the *Abbeville Press and Banner* at intervals in the year 1876.

His statement on the *Abbeville Whig* follows:

There was no newspaper published at Abbeville between 1833 and 1844. *The Abbeville Whig* or *Southern Nullifier* had run a fiery course under Editor S. A. Townes during the contest of Nullification, but expired with that issue and arose Phoenix-like elsewhere, or was transformed into another shape. The sign on the outer wall of the *Whig* office 'with empti-

³⁶ *Ibid.*, S. A. Townes to G. F. Townes, June 6, 1833.

³⁷ Simpson, *History of Old Pendleton District*, p. 35, and references in J. Mauldin Lesesne, "Nullification Controversy in an Up-Country District", *Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association*, 1939, p. 19.

ness and darkness within for many a day were all that supplied the place of the former light.'—*The Abbeville Whig* was 12 x 16 (size in inches) and printed so 'plainly', one-half had to be guessed at. Henry Allen had thirty years ago in your office, *Abbeville Banner*, a bound volume and many files were and perhaps are now in the Sheriff's office.³⁸

However, the business affairs of the *Abbeville Whig* seem to have remained in an unsettled state for at least six years after it had ceased to be the "fiery light" described by "Ex-Abbevillian," from this quotation from a letter from the brother of Editor Townes, Dr. Henry H. Townes, still living in the Calhoun Mills community, to another brother, Major John A. Townes in Greenville:

Tell Frank [G. F. Townes, lawyer and brother of former Editor S. A. Townes of the *Abbeville Whig*] I hope on a settlement for Sam with John Taggart [former part owner of *The Whig*]. I shall be able to have his note credited with the further sum of three or four hundred dollars paid by J. Taggart and due by some of the stockholders for printing, subscriptions, etc. Owing to the engagement of Perrin, the representative of the stockholders, for the next two weeks I will not be able to have the settlement with J. T. [John Taggart] when I do I will inform him of the result.³⁹

And with that, the record on the *Abbeville Whig* is closed and according to "Ex-Abbevillian," the citizens of Abbeville district were doomed to dwell in darkness so far as editorial light and guidance went for at least another decade.

³⁸ Ex-Abbevillian, Reminiscences of Abbeville, *The Abbeville Press and Banner*, July 19, 1876.

³⁹ Townes Correspondence, Dr. H. H. Townes at Lodimont, his summer home in the Savannah valley to Major J. A. Townes, Greenville, October 15, 1840.

CHARLESTON PASTIME AND CULTURE DURING THE NULLIFICATION DECADE, 1822-1832

GRANVILLE T. PRIOR

The Citadel

Charleston's rôle in the famous nullification controversy is well known. This paper aims to present as an antidote for the political emphasis characteristic of most accounts of the decade 1822-32 such a picture of pastime and culture as was mirrored in the columns of the *Charleston Mercury*.¹ A study of even this organ of the State Rights party, the most exclusively political newspaper in the city, is sufficient to show that in general the storms of sectional controversy merely rippled the surface of the stream of daily life.

The population of Charleston and its suburbs during this period never totalled more than 40,000.² A minority consisting of professional men, planters and merchants probably determined the cultural character of the city. Their efforts to improve interior communications through ambitious road, canal and railway projects failed to revive a waning prosperity. The *Mercury's* despairing picture of the economic situation in 1828 contained at least an element of truth:

. . . Commerce which once poured its treasures at our feet is now driven from our shores. Agriculture, which amply repaid the labor of our planters, now scarcely affords them a bare subsistence. Plantations, once the abode of elegance and wealth, have been deserted and abandoned.

. . . Poverty and embarrassment universally prevail, and nothing is to be seen or heard, from the seaboard to the mountains, but the signs of decay and the language of despair.³

Such conditions affected cultural progress adversely and figured importantly in the struggle against the tariff.

Nevertheless, even in the midst of economic depression Charles-tonians continued to find time for relaxation in various forms of amusement. Horse racing appears to have been the most popular form of outdoor recreation. The annual contests of the South Carolina Jockey Club climaxed the winter social season and in good weather drew "large assemblages" of "the beauty and fashion of the city."⁴ In 1823 one Carolina thoroughbred made such a favorable impression that local turfmen talked of matching him with

¹ This paper is an outgrowth of a study of the history of the *Mercury*.

² Robert Mills, *Statistics of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1826), p. 386; M. Goldsmith, *Directory of Charleston, 1831*.

³ *Mercury*, August 23, 1828. The editor attributed these conditions to the protective tariff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, February, 1822-1832.

a celebrated New York steed.⁵ The attendance in 1828 was exceptionally good and the performances were reported as giving "very general satisfaction."⁶ Purses for the important races ranged from \$500.00 to \$1,000.00, and betting was popular. The withdrawal of a ten to one favorite once proved "a great disappointment even to the knowing ones."⁷

Occasional boxing matches attracted the bloods of the city. A "celebrated pugilist from London" gave lessons in "the noble and manly science" and appeared in "a regular sparring match" to demonstrate to "the curious . . . how they do these things in England."⁸ The "Salt Water Bathing House" at the foot of Laurens Street provided facilities for bathers. However, small boys apparently disdained to use it, thereby provoking an indignant outburst from a newspaper correspondent who characterized their nude "exhibitions" as "too indecorous for the refinement of the age."⁹

Assemblies in the "Long Rooms" of local dancing masters and the balls of St. Cecilia's, St. Andrew's and other societies provided terpsichorean pleasures for the "fashionable" throughout the winter season.¹⁰ A brilliant ball honored the visit of Lafayette to the city in 1825.¹¹ Politics invaded the dance floor when the nullifiers sponsored a "State Rights Ball." Palmetto trees and other decorations "emblematic of the cause of the South" adorned the interior of the theatre on this occasion.¹²

Itinerant showmen entertained with a variety of attractions at concert halls and "Long Rooms." Here ventriloquism and fire eating competed for favor with "surprising feats of agility" on the "Slack Wire." "Muscogee Indians" once presented a "Grand Exhibition" of "their National Dances, Songs and Plays."¹³ The curious objects displayed included an Egyptian mummy from "ancient Thebes" and a "Mammoth Hog" billed as "the largest and most elegantly made animal ever before exhibited in America, of the Hog Kind (*sic*)."¹⁴ Travelling menageries advertised such strange beasts as lions, tigers, leopards, jaguars, monkeys, kangaroos, camels and elephants. One of them featured a highly trained elephant said to possess the ability to "draw a cork from a bottle, drink the contents and hand the cork and bottle to its keeper."¹⁵ The circuses which appeared from time

⁵ *Ibid.*, February 11-18, 1823.

⁶ *Ibid.*, February 28, 1828.

⁷ *Ibid.*, February 26, 1825.

⁸ *Ibid.*, February 1, 23, March 25, April 16, 1825.

⁹ *Ibid.*, June 19, 1828.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1822-32, *passim*.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, March 7, 16, 17, 1825.

¹² *Ibid.*, February 2, March 4, 5, 1831.

¹³ *Ibid.*, June 7-9, 1830.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, January 18, 1822; January 24, February 18, 1824.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, January 9, 1827.

to time offered clowns, trick horsemanship and performances by tumblers, jugglers and tight rope walkers.

While such amusement doubtless appealed to the unfastidious tastes of "mechanics", sailors and recently arrived immigrants, the theater on the west end of Broad Street probably catered to a more select clientele.¹⁶ Here throughout the decade stock companies under various managements presented "much talent and variety" during a season which usually lasted, with occasional recesses, from late November to early May. The programs usually began at 6:30 or 7:30, according to the time of year, and they nearly always included a farce in addition to the featured drama. Singers and dancers from Paris and the Northern theatres and tight rope performers sometimes entertained during the intermissions. Among the perennial favorites were tragedies such as Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and *Othello* and Sheridan Knowles' *Virginius* and comedies like Massinger's *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* and Morton's *Town and Country*. As the nullification controversy neared its climax in 1831 and 1832 melodramas and spectacle plays such as *The Aethiope* and *Timour the Tartar* vied in popularity with James Henry Hackett's caricatures of native American types like "Solomon Swap," the Yankee in *Jonathan in England* and "the Kentuckian" in *Lion of the West*. The troupe presented John Augustus Stone's Indian tragedy, *Metamora*, for the first time in 1831 while Hackett introduced Charleston audiences to "Rip Van Winkle" in the following year.¹⁷ Few seasons passed without one or more operas or musical plays.

The Charleston theatre did not lack for talent. The outstanding performers of America and England starred for engagements of varied length nearly every year. Of these the veteran American actor, Thomas Abthorpe Cooper, appeared most frequently and enjoyed a pre-eminent popularity.¹⁸ Local critics sometimes weighed the merits of other tragedians by comparison. Even after he had passed his prime the *Mercury* extolled him as "still unrivalled in America."¹⁹ On another occasion it acclaimed his Macbeth as better than that of "the most distinguished among English actors."²⁰ James W. Wallack, the Elder, famous comedian, and Junius Brutus Booth, who included Charleston on his first American tour in 1822, were other

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, February 9, 1824; Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 423; W. S. Hoole, "Two Famous Theatres of the Old South", *South Atlantic Quarterly*, July, 1937, XXXVI, 275.

¹⁷ *Mercury*, March 14, 1831; January 27—February 18, 1832; Arthur Hornblow, *A History of the Theatre in America* (Philadelphia, 1919), II, 35-36.

¹⁸ *Gazette*, May 15, 1822; *Mercury*, February 14-March 7, 1827; December 10-16, 1828; January 29-February 17, 1830; March 9-17, 1831; February 27-March 1, 1832.

¹⁹ *Mercury*, February 14, 1827.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, December 16, 1828.

favorites. Edwin Forrest, the great English tragedian, made his debut in 1831.²¹ In 1826 Charleston gave the arrogant, loose living British born Edmund Kean a most favorable reception although his appearance had precipitated riots in Boston and New York. A *Mercury* critic contrasted "the refinement and breeding of Carolina" with "the riotous display of mobocracy which has disgraced temporarily the character of a Northern audience."²² The great actor held 1,300 "spell bound" when he opened with *Hamlet* and also drew crowded houses in *Othello*, *The Merchant of Venice*, John Howard Payne's *Brutus*, Coleman's *Iron Chest* and *a New Way to Pay Old Debts*. Newspaper writers compared him favorably with Cooper and thought his Sir Giles Overreach (in *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*) superior to even Booth's. "Dramaticus" wrote of his Hamlet: "We have never seen nor would desire to see a better."²³

"Much talent and variety" did not always return profits to the local theatre. While patronage from 1822 to 1826 apparently reflected what the *Mercury* described as "the well known cordial liberality of Charleston" it declined during the next five years. The editor of that journal reported at the close of the 1830-31 season that in spite of the "incessant exertions" of the manager "hardly a week has elapsed . . . in which the actual expenses of the concern have been received at the doors."²⁴ Changes in management and the division of the company's time between Charleston, Savannah and Augusta failed to relieve this "languishing condition."²⁵ The newspaper contributor who mentioned "the pressure of the times" as a possible cause probably came nearer the truth than those who blamed dishonest management, immorality and "want of talent."²⁶

The musical attractions were almost as varied as those of the theatre. Both local and imported artists presented vocal and instrumental music at the public halls. A series of violin and pianoforte recitals attracted favorable newspaper comments in 1826 and 1827.²⁷ Band music and singing added to the allurements of ice cream and temperance beverages at the United States and Tivoli Gardens on hot summer evenings.²⁸ "Tyrolese Minstrels" perhaps gave welcome diversion from torrid politics during the winter of 1832.²⁹ Mrs. Knight, a member of the theatrical company, gave a concert in which she re-

²¹ *Ibid.*, February 21-March 7, 1831.

²² *Ibid.*, March 14-April 26, 1826; Hornblow, *op. cit.*, II, 304-9.

²³ *Mercury*, March 14-April 26, 1826.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, April 1, 1831.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, November 26, 1828; November 14, 1829; March 22, 1830; April 1, 1831.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, May 12-17, August 20, 25, 1827; March 22, 1830.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, April 20, June 21, 1826; March 9, 15, 1827.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, May 28, June 2, 6, 13, 1828; August 17, 1829.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, February 17, 27, 1832.

sponded to an encore with "Hurra! for the Bonnets of Blue!". One of her admirers compared her "style of singing" to "that in which a woodnymph would fascinate and invoke some arcadian shepherd to her haunts."³⁰

The South Carolina Academy of Arts founded in 1820 featured in its annual exhibits from 1822 to 1826 original paintings by Rembrandt Peale, Romney, West, Trumbull, Sully and others.³¹ The press hailed it as "a repository of taste and a school of morals and refinement."³² However, in 1826 its patronage declined to such an extent that it failed even to pay "the keeper".³³ Indignant newspaper correspondents inveighed in vain against "the neglect of this most valuable institution". One of them bitterly censored his fellow citizens for spending money in the north to the detriment of such a worthwhile local enterprise.³⁴ Itinerant showmen displayed panoramas and "dioramas" of Mexico City, Niagara Falls and the Battle of New Orleans. Washington Allston and Charles Fraser probably held first rank among the native artists of the period. Although the former spent most of his life in England and Massachusetts a King Street studio exhibited one of his works as the product of an artist "whose genius reflected so much honor on his native state."³⁵

At least one local author felt that literary pursuits commanded little respect in the community. Young William Gilmore Simms, the outstanding Charleston poet of the period and later a distinguished novelist, complained in 1830:

. . . We know of no higher crime among us than the scribbling of verse. A noble may commit forgery, another rob a bank, a third may be a confirmed drunkard about the streets, and all escape with impunity; but to write verse, be it good or bad, will subject him to the hatred of the illiterate and the persecution of the unprincipled and base.³⁶

He envied Whittier his opportunities as editor of the *New England Review*; he himself as conductor of the *City Gazette* reluctantly penned political editorials.³⁷ Although the *Mercury's* correspondents boasted of South Carolina's contributions to American literature, later critics do not usually rank Simms, J. W. Simmons, William Crafts, Hugh S. Legare, Isaac Harby and T. S. Grimke, the most important Charleston writers of this decade, with such northern contemporaries as Bryant, Irving and Cooper.³⁸ The editor perhaps had

³⁰ *Ibid.*, March 4-5, 1828.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 1822-1826, *passim*.

³² *Ibid.*, November 6, 1822; March 18, 1823; *Courier*, January 8-June 7, 1822.

³³ *Mercury*, April 6, June 17, 1826.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, March 17, 1827.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, March 13, 1832.

³⁶ *Gazette*, August 23, 1830.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, January 5, August 23, 1830.

³⁸ *Mercury*, June 29, 1824; February 12, July 14, 1827.

reason to complain: "Is poetical reputation like everything else to be monopolized by the North?"³⁹

The publications of local printers consisted principally of political pamphlets typified by Robert Turnbull's *Crisis* and Thomas Cooper's *Consolidation*. These outnumbered works of more literary interest such as the collected writings of Crafts and Harby, Alexander Garden's *Anecdotes of the American Revolution* and William Johnson's *Life of General Greene*. The *Southern Review*, a quarterly, was probably the most important Charleston periodical of the decade. The *Mercury* hailed its establishment in 1827 as an important step toward giving the South her proper representation in "the Republic of Letters" and later asserted proudly that it had soon "disputed the palm of excellence" with the "oldest and established" magazines in the country.⁴⁰ However, the politically minded editor could not regard it entirely from "a mere literary point of view"; he insisted that its principal mission would be to enlighten "our Northern brethren" by vindicating "the rights, the principles and the character of the Southern States."⁴¹

The daily press of Charleston published numerous selections of a literary and cultural nature as well as political and commercial news and editorial opinions.⁴² The city supported four such newspapers throughout the decade and five in its final year. The *City Gazette*, the oldest, changed ownership frequently and finally sold out to the *Courier* in 1833. Editors such as Isaac Harby, the dramatist, and William Gilmore Simms, gave it literary distinction. Although it sympathized with state rights doctrines it vigorously opposed nullification. The *Courier*, under the able guidance of its owner Aaron S. Willington and assistants like William Crafts and Richard Yeadon possessed superior newsgathering facilities and supported conservative political principles. Jacob N. Cardozo, the scholarly editor-owner of the *Southern Patriot*, an evening publication, usually avoided partisan controversy and upheld the dignity of the press in his objective disquisitions on problems of finance and political economy. Although he was an advocate of free trade he opposed the extreme proposals of the state rights party. The *Mercury* founded by Edmund Morford in 1822 as a "miscellaneous" journal became the organ of the Calhoun "Junto" under his successor, Henry Laurens Pinckney. Its frequently vitriolic tone, its partisan spirit and its vehement agitation for nullification after 1828, provoked bitter controversies with the *Gazette* and *Courier*. In 1831 the *State Rights and*

³⁹ *Ibid.*, February 12, 1827.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, October 2, 1827; August 7, 1829.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, October 2, 1827.

⁴² The *Mercury* almost completely abandoned the practice after 1829. Other papers merely curtailed the space devoted to such "miscellany" as interest increased in the sectional controversy.

Free Trade Evening Post joined the *Mercury* in the crusade for state action against the tariff evil.⁴³

If Charlestonians produced no great novels, poems or dramas they by no means lacked literary interests. The advertisements of the five local bookstores and the literary comments appearing in the daily newspapers show them to have been eminently well read. They were not only thoroughly versed in the classics of Greece and Rome but were also well acquainted with the literature of England and France. Scott, Mrs. Sherwood, Bulwer Lytton, Irving and Cooper were the most popular contemporary writers. Biographies of Napoleon, Frederick II, Nelson, Pitt and the heroes of the American Revolution apparently sold well. The bookstores retailed the latest issues of periodicals such as the *Edinburgh Review*, *Campbell's New Monthly Magazine*, *The Museum of Foreign Literature and Science* and the *North American Review*. Histories, descriptions of travel and treatises on law, medicine, astronomy, religion and philosophy completed the literary diet of the community.⁴⁴

Five different libraries possessed, according to the *Mercury*, collections "little inferior to any . . . on the continent."⁴⁵ The oldest and largest was the Charleston Library Society.⁴⁶ One of its members complained that its hours excluded from its use all those "whose prime of day must be devoted to the active duties of life".⁴⁷ The Apprentices' Library Society founded in 1824 for the improvement of "the youth devoting their attention to mechanical pursuits" owned 3,000 volumes two years later.⁴⁸ The Ramsay Library and Debating Society and the Forensic Club fostered the art of public speaking.⁴⁹

Science fared better than literature. The Literary and Philosophical Society of South Carolina, principally a Charleston institution, had a distinguished membership.⁵⁰ The zoologists James E. Holbrook and Francis Dickson ranked with the best in the country, while the botanist Stephen Elliott enjoyed an international reputation.⁵¹ The society's collection of minerals and "subjects of natural history and botany," which were housed in the Charleston Museum, won admiring comments from both English and Northern scientists.⁵² A *Mercury* contributor characterized it as "more selected and better calculated for purposes of improvement than any other in the

⁴³ These conclusions, facts and characterizations are based on a careful survey of the newspapers discussed.

⁴⁴ The conclusions are based on evidence found in all the contemporary newspapers.

⁴⁵ *Mercury*, June 28, 1828.

⁴⁶ Mills, *op. cit.*, 409, 435.

⁴⁷ *Mercury*, June 15, 1825.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, July 1, 1824; February 7, 1832; Mills, *op. cit.*, 439.

⁴⁹ *Mercury*, November 5, 1824; May 15, 29, June 14, 1827.

⁵⁰ Mills, *op. cit.*, 437; *Mercury*, May 11, September 12, 1822; May 1, 1832.

⁵¹ *Mercury*, June 28, 1824; July 23, 1825; July 14, 1827.

⁵² *Ibid.*, November 2, 5, 23, 1824; Mills, *op. cit.*, 437.

United States." ⁵³ The Museum served as a place of amusement as well as of instruction and band music sometimes enhanced the interest of its exhibits.⁵⁴ MacMillan's Museum founded in 1827 soon rivalled the older institution in both patronage and reputation. The Zoological Society of London honored its proprietor by making him its resident collector of specimens from the Southern states.⁵⁵ Lectures on "natural history", botany, "galvanism", mnemonics, phrenology and astronomy reflected the range of the community's scientific interests. "Several ladies" apparently participated in a "Philosophical Exhibition . . . of the effects of Nitrous Oxide or Exhilarating Gas."⁵⁶ The owner of a "Grand Solar Microscope" advertised "the most interesting exhibition of Nature's Wonders ever presented to the public."⁵⁷ Newspaper notices and communications called attention to a variety of inventions ranging from a "rice threshing machine" to "patent fly nets for coach and saddle horses."

Medicine held a special interest in a community frequently subjected to the ravages of fatal fevers. The *Mercury* scanning the reports of recent progress in this subject inquired anxiously whether any physician had yet discovered a "specific" for yellow fever.⁵⁸ Each epidemic produced a plethora of communications on the nature and treatment of this disease.⁵⁹ The Medical College of South Carolina chartered in 1823 and opened the following year became the city's medical centre.⁶⁰ The *Mercury*, heartily in favor of home education for Southern students, called attention to its value in providing "specific instruction" in the nature and treatment of diseases peculiar to the local climate and the negro. It also maintained that the school offered superior opportunities for the study of anatomy "subjects being procured from among the colored population for every purpose" and expressed the conviction that less prejudice against dissection existed in Charleston than elsewhere.⁶¹ The college received subsidies from both the city and state governments and boasted a faculty of distinguished medical men.⁶² By 1827, according to the *Mercury*, it had "already won for itself a name among the scientific institutions of the Union."⁶² The enrollment increased from 30 in 1824 to 141 in 1828.⁶³ In 1832 an unfortunate quarrel between the

⁵³ *Ibid.*, November 5, 1824.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, April 26, 1825.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, March 1, April 16, May 28, September 28, November 6, 1827.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, January 1, 12, 1822.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, May 13, 1830.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, July 20, 1827.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, September, 1824; August, 1827-January, 1828; July, 1829.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, December 24, 1823; August 3, 1824.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, October 8, 19, 1823; September 23, 1825; August 29, November 5, 1827; November 12, 1829; March 20, 1830.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 1825-1828, *passim*.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, November 17, 1824; November 29, 1828.

faculty of the college and the Medical Society of South Carolina led to the establishment of a rival institution.⁶⁴

The rebirth of the College of Charleston was another landmark in the progress of education. In 1824 this academy not only reopened its grammar school but established a four-year "collegiate department".⁶⁵ *Mercury* editorials played an important part in the revival, prophesying in 1828 that the college would soon "stand a favorable comparison with much older institutions of this kind."⁶⁶ However, *Gazette* correspondents opposed city appropriations for the support of this "Alma Mater of the wealthy and high born."⁶⁷ Many Charlestonians continued to seek the advantages of higher education at South Carolina College in Columbia and Northern schools such as Harvard, Yale and Princeton. Interest in military education foreshadowed the establishment of The Citadel.⁶⁸

Private academies for both sexes probably constituted the most important source of elementary and secondary education.⁶⁹ A newspaper contributor held that the graduates of one of them would "do honor to any academy in the Union."⁷⁰ The principal of another claimed previous teaching experience in "respectable Academies in New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore."⁷¹ While some of them offered instruction in bookkeeping, art and music the classical curriculum acclaimed by one contemporary as "the foundation of literary and professional eminence" usually prevailed. Edmund Morford, the founder of the *Mercury*, struck a more modern note when he urged American colleges to offer fewer "dead languages" and more "abstruse sciences."⁷² However, his successor, Henry L. Pinckney, foreshadowed an increasing provincialism in opposing the sending of "our youth to Northern Seminaries" as a means of preserving them from "the pernicious influence of . . . bigotry, fanaticism and prejudice."⁷³

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, March 23, 24, 1832; *Centennial Memorial of the Medical College of the State of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1924), pp. 15-16.

⁶⁵ *Mercury*, January 30, June 10, 11, December 2, 1824; J. H. Easterby, *A History of the College of Charleston* (New York, 1935), pp. 69-73.

⁶⁶ Easterby, *op. cit.*, p. 70; *Mercury*, October 28-29, 1828.

⁶⁷ *Gazette*, August 19-22, 28, 1829.

⁶⁸ *Mercury*, May 14, July 4, 1825; June 13, September 12, 1827; January 1, 1831.

⁶⁹ The stigma of charity was apparently still attached to the "Free Schools."

⁷⁰ *Mercury*, January 13, 1827.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, March 1, 1824.

⁷² *Ibid.*, November 14, 1822.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, October 13, 25, 28, November 11, 1823; January 30, June 10, 1824; October 26, 1826; October 30, 1827; August 11-12, 1828.

CONSTITUTION

I

The name of this organization shall be The South Carolina Historical Association.

II

The objects of the Association shall be to promote historical studies in the State of South Carolina; to bring about a closer relationship among persons living in this State who are interested in history; and to encourage the preservation of historical records.

III

Any person approved by the executive committee may become a member by paying \$2.00 and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of \$2.00.

IV

The officers shall be a president, a vice-president, and a secretary and treasurer who shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting. A list of nominations shall be presented by the executive committee, but nominations from the floor may be made. The officers shall have the duties and perform the functions customarily attached to their respective offices with such others as may from time to time be prescribed.

V

There shall be an executive committee made up of the officers and of two other members elected by ballot for a term of three years; at the first election, however, one shall be elected for two years. Vacancies shall be filled by election in the same manner at the annual meeting following their occurrence. Until such time they shall be filled by appointment by the president. The duties of the executive committee shall be to fix the date and place of the annual meeting, to attend to the publication of the proceedings of the Association, to prepare a program for the annual meetings, to prepare a list of nominations for the officers of the Association as provided in Article IV, and such other duties as may be from time to time assigned to them by the Association. There shall be such other committees as the president may appoint, or be instructed to appoint, by resolution of the Association.

VI

There shall be an annual meeting of the Association at the time and place appointed by the executive committee.

VII

The Association shall publish annually its proceedings to be known as *The Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association*. It shall contain the constitution, by-laws, and minutes of the annual meeting together with such papers and documents selected by the executive committee as may be published without incurring a deficit. It is understood that all papers read at the annual meeting become the property of the Association except as otherwise may be provided by the executive committee. The executive committee shall annually elect an editor of the *Proceedings*. He shall have authority to appoint an associate editor and shall be a member of the executive committee but without vote.

VIII

This constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present at the annual business meeting.

MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION

BAKER, MARY NEEL.....	Greenwood, S. C.
	<i>Greenwood High School</i>
BARNWELL, ROBERT W., JR.....	Columbia, S. C.
	<i>Instructor in History, University of South Carolina</i>
BEASON, SARAH	Greenville, S. C.
	<i>Welcome High School</i>
BENNETT, MRS. JOHN.....	Charleston, S. C.
BLAKE, EUGENE H.....	Greenwood, S. C.
BONHAM, MILLEDGE LOUIS.....	Clinton, N. Y.
	<i>Professor of History, Hamilton College</i>
BOYD, RUTH	Greenville, S. C.
	<i>Greenville High School</i>
BROWN, MARSHALL W.....	Clinton, S. C.
	<i>Dean and Professor of History, Presbyterian College</i>
BURNETT, MRS. W. M.....	Greenville, S. C.
	<i>Instructor in History, Woman's College of Furman University</i>
CALLCOTT, W. H.....	Columbia, S. C.
	<i>Professor of History, University of South Carolina</i>
CAUTHEN, CHARLES E.....	Columbia, S. C.
	<i>Professor of History, Columbia College</i>
CHILDS, MRS. ARNEY R.....	Columbia, S. C.
	<i>Professor of History, University of South Carolina</i>
CLAYTON, CHRISTINE.....	Columbia, S. C.
	<i>Columbia High School</i>
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	<i>Dreher High School</i>
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	<i>Assistant Professor of History, Coker College</i>
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	<i>Professor of English Language, University of South Carolina</i>
DAVIS, NORA MARSHALL.....	Columbia, S. C.
	<i>Director of South Carolina Historical Markers Survey</i>
DERRICK, S. J.....	Newberry, S. C.
	<i>Professor of History, Newberry College</i>
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	<i>Greenville High School</i>
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EASTERBY, J. H.....	Charleston, S. C.
	<i>Professor of History, College of Charleston</i>
EPTING, CARL L.....	Clemson College
	<i>Professor of History, Clemson College</i>
FERRELL, C. M.....	Columbia, S. C.
	<i>Professor of History, University of South Carolina</i>
*GALLOWAY, L. C.....	Due West, S. C.
	<i>Professor of History, Erskine College</i>
GILPATRICK, D. H.....	Greenville, S. C.
	<i>Professor of History, Furman University</i>
GLENN, BESS	Georgetown, D. C.
	<i>National Archives</i>
GREEN, EDWIN L.....	Columbia, S. C.
	<i>Professor of Ancient Languages, University of South Carolina</i>
GREGORIE, ANNE KING.....	Columbia, S. C.
	<i>Director, State Historical Survey</i>

* Deceased.

HENNIG, MRS. JULIAN.....	Columbia, S. C.
HOLMES, A. G.....	Clemson College, S. C. <i>Professor of History, Clemson College</i>
HUGHES, HORATIO	Charleston, S. C. <i>Professor of Chemistry, College of Charleston</i>
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LESESNE, J. M.....	Due West, S. C. <i>Professor of History, Erskine College</i>
MAGILL, SADIE	Columbia, S. C. <i>Columbia High School</i>
MAJOR, NANNIE T.....	Greenwood, S. C. <i>Magnolia Grammar School</i>
MERIWETHER, R. L.....	Columbia, S. C. <i>Professor of History, University of South Carolina</i>
MILLS, W. H.....	Clemson College, S. C. <i>Professor of Rural Sociology, Clemson College</i>
MOORE, J. P.....	Charleston, S. C. <i>Assistant Professor of History, The Citadel</i>
MCINTOSH, NANCY.....	Columbia, S. C. <i>Columbia High School</i>
MCKISSICK, J. RION.....	Columbia, S. C. <i>President, University of South Carolina</i>
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OLIPHANT, MRS. A. D.....	Greenville, S. C.
PARDUE, CAROLINE.....	Aiken, S. C.
PATTON, JAMES W.....	Spartanburg, S. C. <i>Professor of History, Converse College</i>
PEARLSTINE, HANNA	Columbia, S. C. <i>Columbia High School</i>
PRIOR, G. T.....	Charleston, S. C. <i>Assistant Professor of History, The Citadel</i>
RADFORD, INEZ	Greenwood, S. C. <i>Assistant Professor of History, Lander College</i>
SHEPPARD, W. A.....	Spartanburg, S. C.
SISSON, CHARLES N.....	Hartsville, S. C. <i>Professor of History, Coker College</i>
SKIPPER, O. C.....	Charleston, S. C. <i>Professor of History, The Citadel</i>
STONE, RICHARD G.....	Spartanburg, S. C. <i>Associate Professor of Social Science, Converse College</i>
SURLES, FLORA B.....	Columbia, S. C. <i>Supervisor, WPA State-wide Historical Project</i>
TAYLOR, MARY.....	Charleston, S. C. <i>Memminger High School</i>
TAYLOR, ROSSE R.....	Greenville, S. C. <i>Professor of History, Furman University</i>
THORNWELL, BELLE GLOVER.....	Columbia, S. C. <i>Instructor in History, Columbia College</i>

TILGHMAN, MRS. H. L.....	Marion, S. C.
TOWNSEND, LEAH.....	Florence, S. C.
VARN, SALLIE	Greenville, S. C.
	<i>Greenville High School</i>
WALLACE, D. D.....	Spartanburg, S. C.
	<i>Professor of History, Wofford College</i>
WEBBER, MABEL L.....	Charleston, S. C.
	<i>Secretary, South Carolina Historical Society</i>
WHITE, FANNIE BELLE.....	Columbia, S. C.
	<i>Columbia High School</i>
WIENEFELD, R. H.....	Columbia, S. C.
	<i>Professor of History, University of South Carolina</i>
WILCOX, SAMUEL.....	Charleston, S. C.
	<i>Assistant Professor of Business Administration, College of Charleston</i>
WILLIAMS, MRS. RICHARD.....	Greenwood, S. C.
	<i>Professor of History, Lander College</i>
WILLIAMS, S. J.....	Charleston, S. C.
	<i>Professor of History, The Citadel</i>
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WOLFE, J. H.....	Boone, N. C.
	<i>Appalachian State Teacher's College</i>
WOODY, ROBERT H.....	Durham, N. C.
	<i>Assistant Professor of History, Duke University</i>

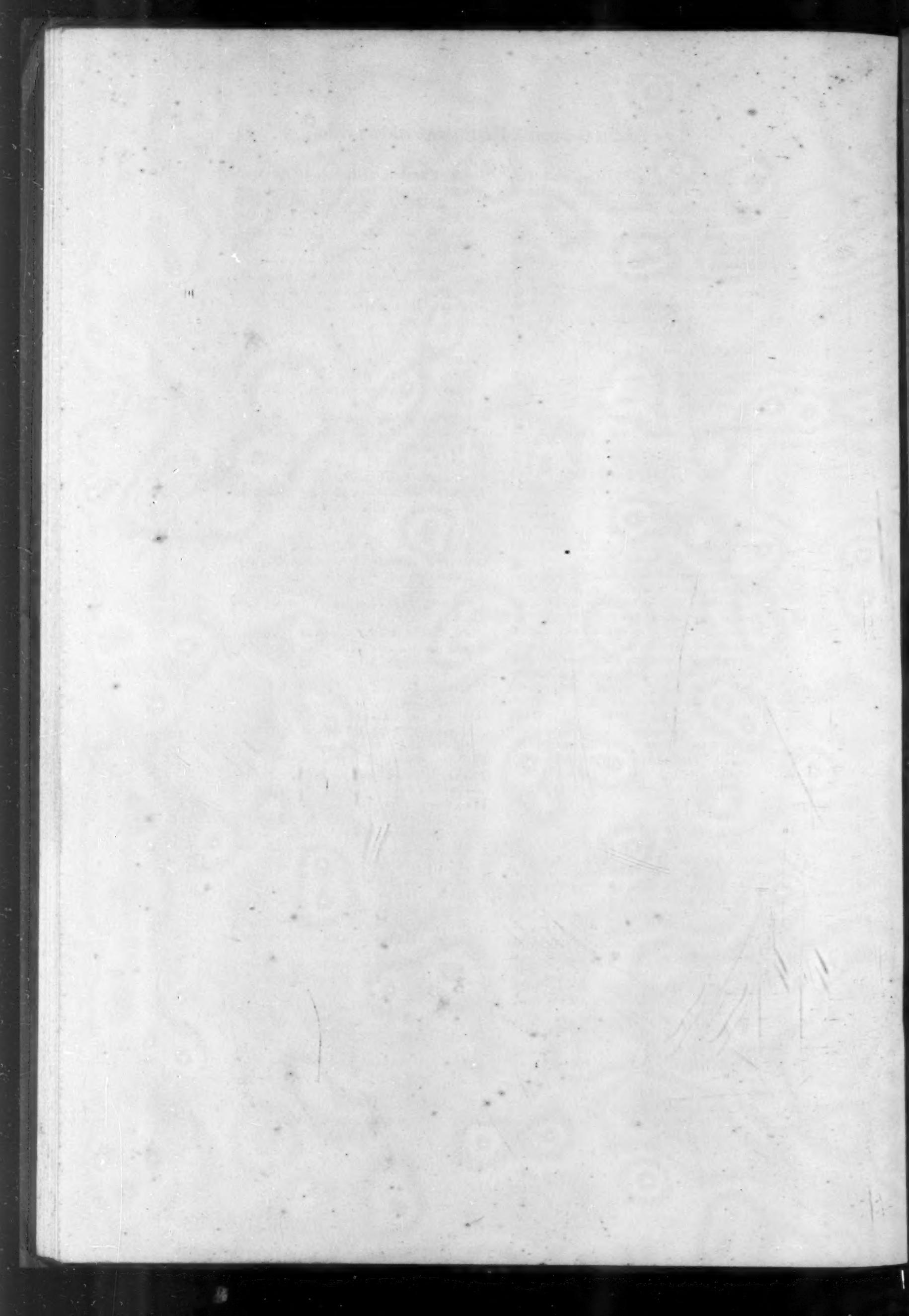
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